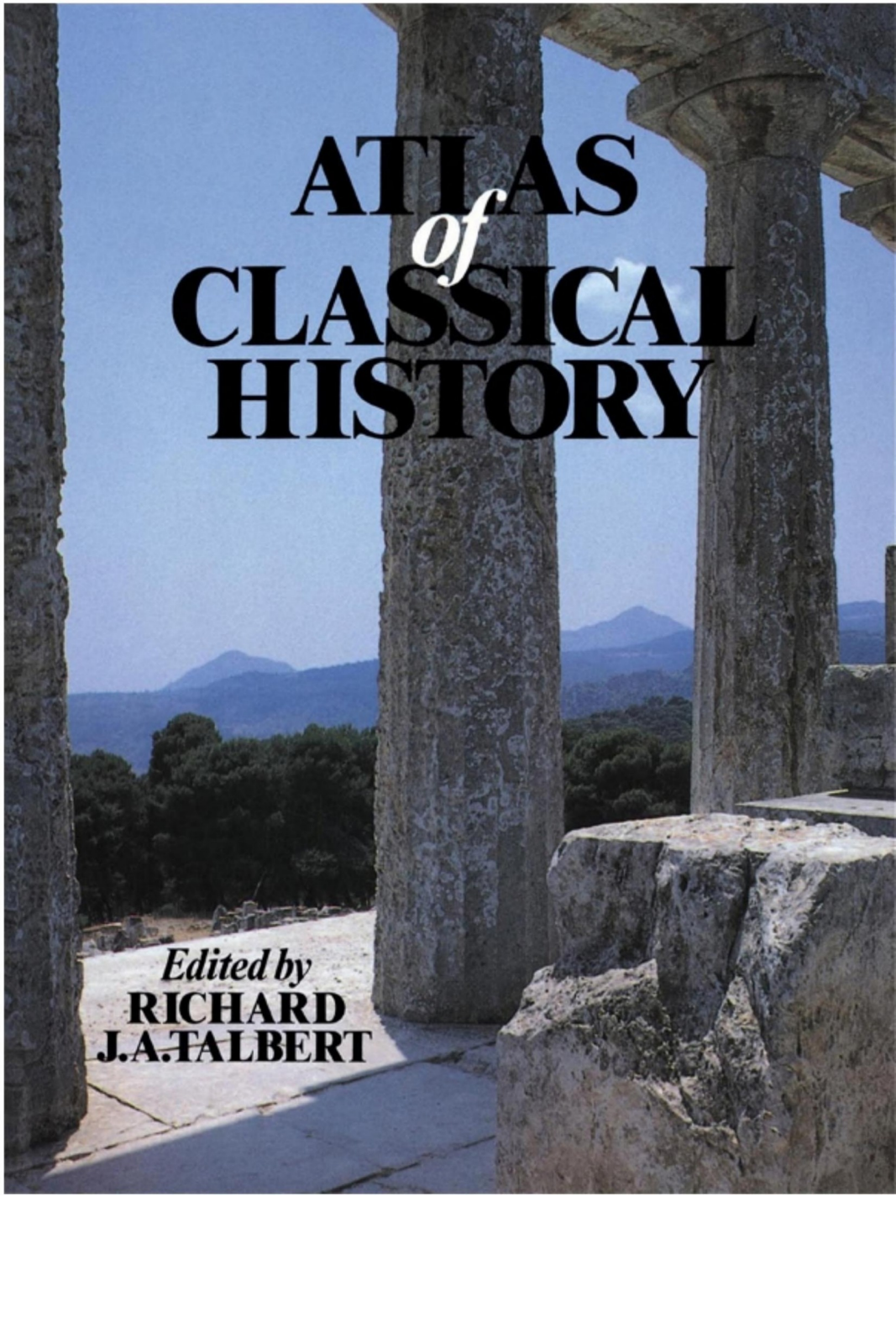


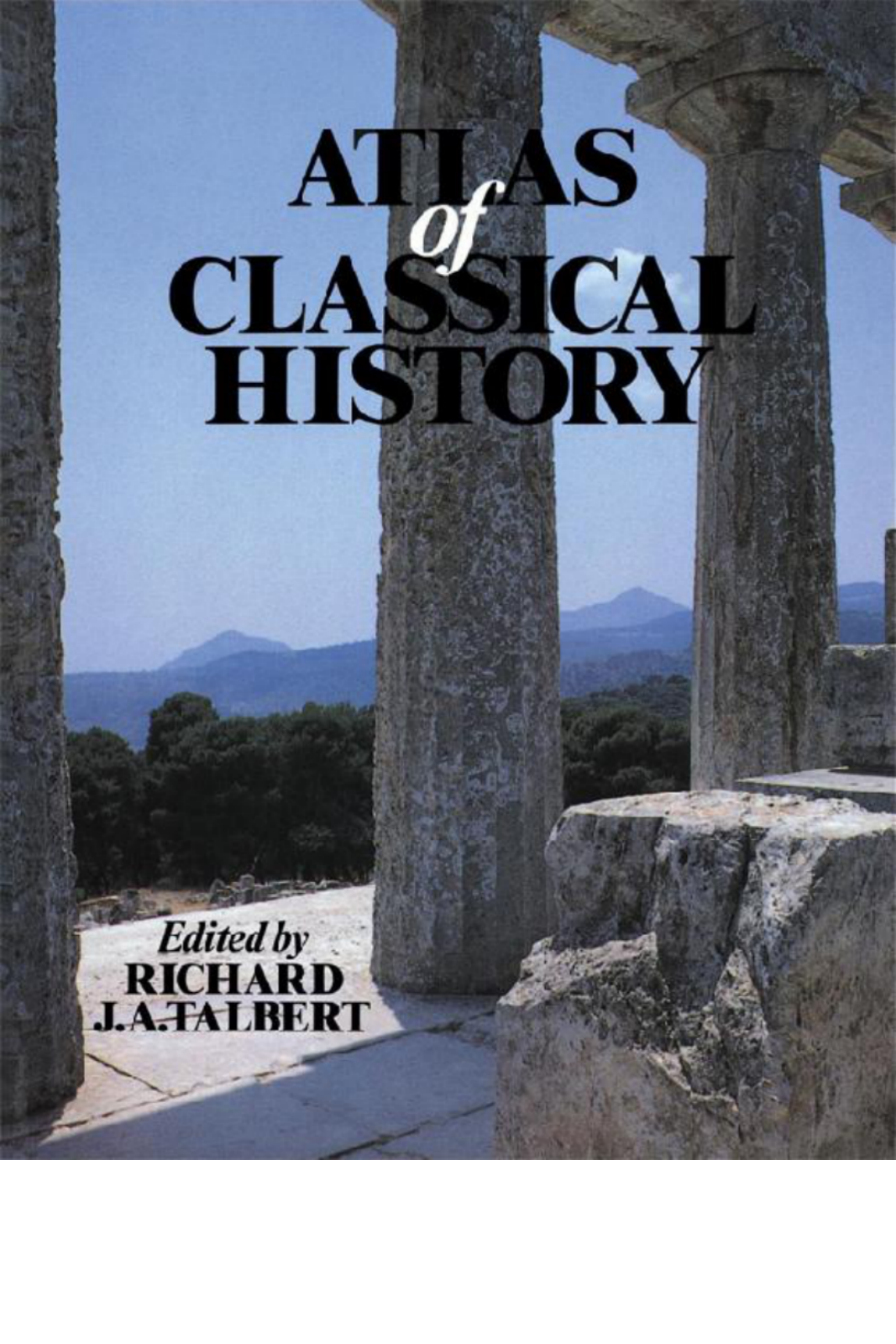
The background of the cover is a photograph of an ancient Greek temple. Several large, weathered stone columns are visible, supporting a portion of the entablature. The temple is situated on a hillside, with a dense forest of green trees in the mid-ground. In the far distance, a range of blue mountains is visible under a clear, light blue sky. The overall scene is bright and sunny, with shadows cast on the ground.

ATLAS *of* CLASSICAL HISTORY

Edited by
**RICHARD
J.A. TALBERT**

VISIT...

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Caliente.COM

The background of the cover is a photograph of an ancient Greek temple. Several large, weathered stone columns are visible, with one in the foreground on the left and another on the right. The temple is situated on a hillside, and in the background, there are rolling hills and mountains under a clear blue sky. The title 'ATLAS of CLASSICAL HISTORY' is superimposed on the upper half of the image.

ATLAS *of* CLASSICAL HISTORY

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ATLAS of CLASSICAL HISTORY

EDITED BY RICHARD J.A.TALBERT



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PREFACE

In all likelihood this book has its origin in a chance encounter between Richard Stoneman, the humanities editor of Croom Helm Ltd, and myself at the classical societies' Oxford Triennial Conference in summer 1981. The subject of our conversation on that occasion eludes me. At any rate it was an unexpected pleasure to be approached by Richard in the autumn with a tentative proposal for the compilation of an atlas of classical history. We soon found that we were in close agreement on what was needed: a volume in which lucid maps offered the high school student and the undergraduate a reasonably comprehensive, up-to-date and scholarly coverage of classical history down to the time of Constantine, accompanied by modest elucidation of the material and by some suggestions for further reading. Explanation and discussion were felt to be especially important, so long as they did not outweigh the maps.

A concern to keep production costs under control has restrained us from including everything that we might have wished. The same concern has affected the size and number of pages in the atlas, while colour printing has proved out of the question. Use of some standard bases has helped to limit expenditure on cartography. Equally, without the help of expert colleagues the desired coverage of classical history would have been impossible to achieve. The warmest gratitude is therefore due to those throughout the British Isles who agreed with alacrity to contribute to the atlas and have done such excellent work. It has been deliberate editorial policy to be ready with guidance when required, but otherwise—in view of the contributors' specialist knowledge—to leave them a fairly free hand in the presentation of their material. Inevitably, however, restraint did have to be exercised when texts submitted overran their allotted space.

In particular no standard convention for the spelling of names has been imposed. Since a convention which meets with general satisfaction has yet to be devised, in a work of this character an editor who sought to impose one of his own making would only face exceptions, pleas, arguments, delay, as well as increasing the possibility of mistakes and diverting attention from more important issues. Whatever an editor does, he has no hope of pleasing everybody where this perennial controversy is concerned. As it is, notably outlandish or unusual spelling of names has been discouraged, Latin forms have been recommended where serious doubt has arisen, and an

effort has been made to keep each individual contributor's usage consistent (since sometimes it was not!). Nonetheless, throughout the atlas as a whole inconsistency does still remain. While any distress caused to purists who read through from cover to cover is regretted, arguably the degree of inconsistency present should hardly cause undue difficulties of comprehension anywhere, and should prove of little account to those who refer just to two or three maps at a time.

No matter how carefully plans are laid in advance, in a complex project of this type the need for certain changes and improvements will only emerge as work proceeds. Such developments are the principal cause of failure to publish the atlas during 1984, as had originally been intended. However the remarkable fact that this target will be missed by so very few months is due above all to the efforts of Jayne Lewin and Richard Stoneman. Taking over from A.Bereznay at an early stage, Jayne has executed the cartographic work for nearly the entire volume with artistry, speed, efficiency and good humour: her responsiveness to contributors' diverse requirements has been especially appreciated. Richard, as well as initiating the project and contributing to it, has offered all possible encouragement and support throughout. Not least my own debt to him is enormous: no editor could have been served better.

In Belfast, too, my colleagues (especially Raymond Davis) have given unfailing support and have patiently sought to answer my astonishing range of queries. Janis Boyd's secretarial work has been superb. I continue to appreciate the high quality of the University Library's holdings, and the assistance of University funds towards travel and research. In addition thanks are due to N.G.L. Hammond, W.V.Harris, R.Hope Simpson, A. Powell and M.L.Pringle. But above all this atlas has been a collaborative effort. If it succeeds in its principal aim of stimulating the readers for whom it is designed, then there will be cause for joint satisfaction on the part of all those who have worked hard to achieve it.

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Queen's University

Belfast

1984

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EQUIVALENT MEASUREMENTS

1 hectare = 10,000 sq metres = 2.47 acres

1 Roman foot = 0.295 metres

1 Roman mile = 5,000 Roman feet = 1475 metres

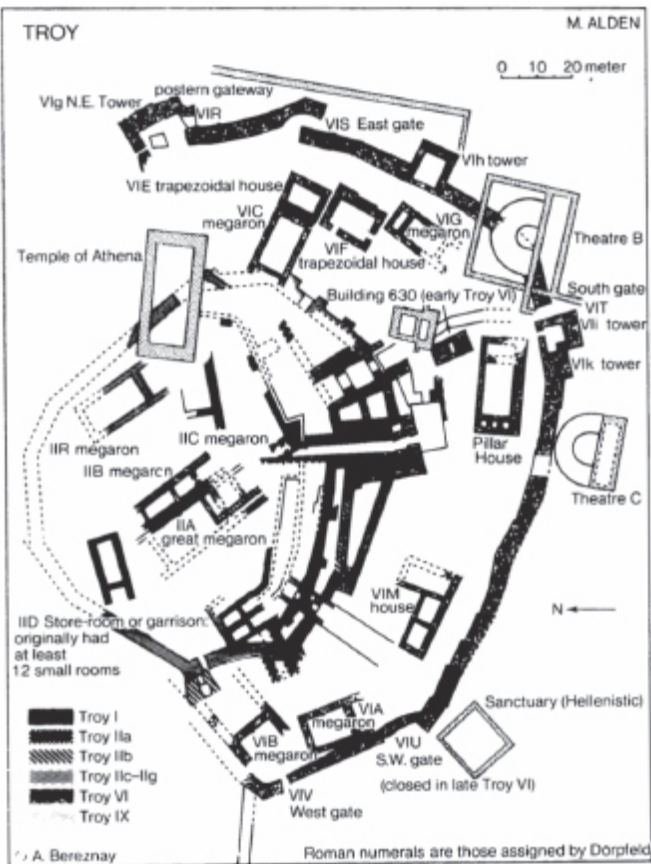
1 metre = 1.09 yards

1000 metres = 1 kilometre = 0.62 miles

10 km = 6.21 miles

50 km = 31.07 miles

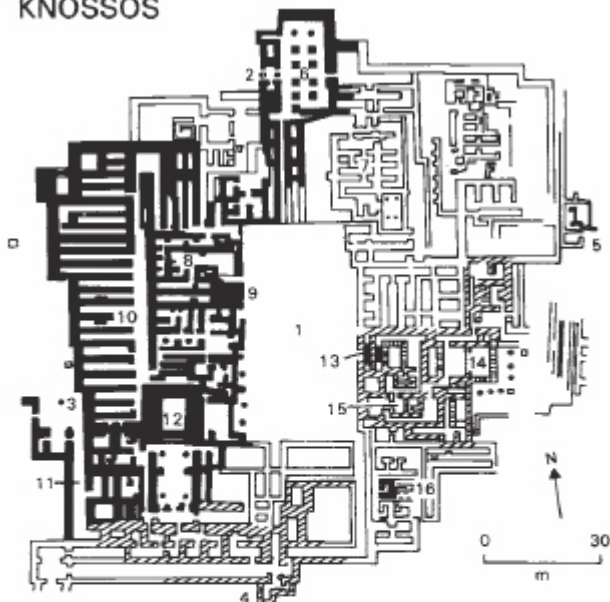
100 km = 62.14 miles



Troy (Hissarlik)

Before excavation the city of Troy (later Ilion) was a tell more than 31 metres high. Excavations by Schliemann (1870–90), Dörpfeld (1893–4), and the University of Cincinnati (1932–8) revealed 46 separate strata, making up nine major layers (I–IX), each with a number of subdivisions. Occupation dates at least from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, and the wealthy city of Troy II (Treasure of Priam) has fortifications comparable in grandeur with those of the approximately contemporary sites of Thermi on Lesbos and Poliochni on Lemnos. Troy VI, in which the horse first appears here, is the settlement which spans the Middle Bronze Age and earlier part of the Late Bronze Age: it seems to have been destroyed by an earthquake around 1300 BC. Mycenaean IIIB pottery in Troy VIIa, destroyed by fire c. 1260, has led to its identification with Homer's Troy, the destruction of which was traditionally placed in 1184 by Eratosthenes on genealogical grounds. The city continued through various vicissitudes to be inhabited until c. AD 500.

KNOSSOS



- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 Central Court | 7 North-east Magazines | 13 Grand staircase to residential quarters |
| 2 North entrance | 8 Throne Room | 14 Main room of the Hall of the Double Axes |
| 3 West entrance | 9 Stairway to upper floor | 15 Treasure chamber |
| 4 South entrance | 10 West Magazines | 16 Shrine of the Double Axes |
| 5 East entrance | 11 Corridor of the Procession | |
| 6 Pillared hall | 12 Stairway to upper floor | |

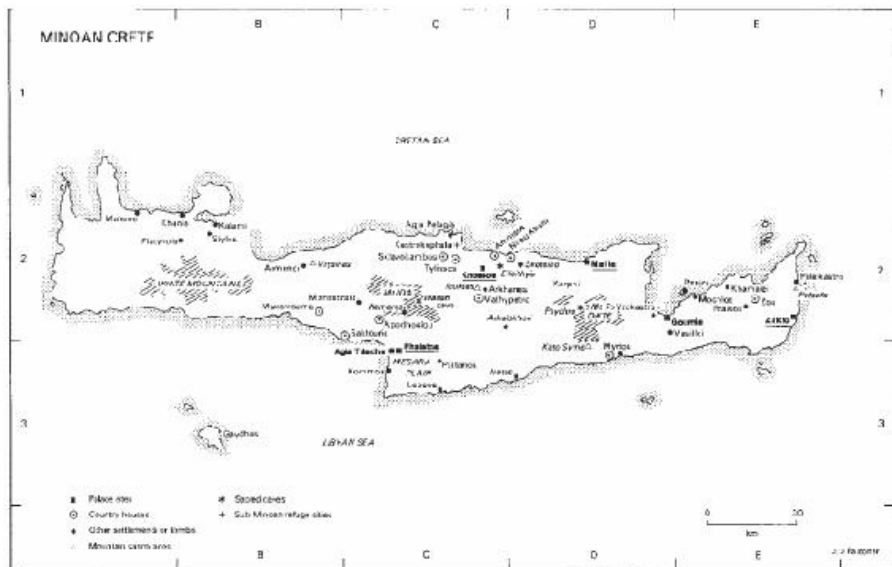
 Walls in use at the time of the destruction : Central Court

 Walls in use at the time of the destruction : lower levels

Knossos

The Cretan city of Knossos and its king, Minos, appear several times in the Homeric poems; Knossians led by Idomeneus take part in the expedition against Troy. In 1878 the site was investigated by Minos Kalokairinos, who found a tall earthenware storage jar (*pithos*), now in the British Museum. Full-scale excavations were begun by Arthur Evans in 1900. The earliest levels were found to be preceramic Neolithic. Despite destructions occupation continued through all phases of the Bronze Age. Evans named the phases of the Cretan Bronze Age 'Minoan' after King Minos. The Middle Minoan palace at Knossos, destroyed c. 1700, was replaced by the magnificent one shown here. It was built around a central court, with state rooms, storage magazines, and several storeys of luxurious residential apartments. It suffered destruction c. 1450. Afterwards it alone among the Cretan palaces was re-occupied, albeit on a reduced scale; the new inhabitants were probably Mycenaeans. The final destruction was by

fire, c. 1375–50.



The Aegean in the Bronze Age, Minoan Crete, Mycenaean Greece

Pages 2, 4 and 6 show the most important sites at which excavations have revealed settlements or tombs in the period from 6500 to 1200 BC. *The Aegean in the Bronze Age* gives Neolithic and Early Bronze Age sites for the whole area, as well as later Bronze Age sites for the islands, Asia Minor and Cyprus. Later sites in Crete and mainland Greece are shown on the other two maps.

The most heavily settled areas in the Neolithic period (c. 6500–2900) seem to have been the fertile plains in north east Greece, but in the Early Bronze Age there was a change in the settlement pattern corresponding with a move from an economy based on cereals to a mixed economy of olives, vines and cereals. Settlements were made in the more rocky terrain of the islands, Crete and the Peloponnese, and a particularly prosperous and artistic culture flourished in the Cyclades. While in Crete the Early Bronze Age settlements seem to have led without a break to the founding of the first great palaces in the twentieth century BC, on the mainland the end of the Early Bronze Age was marked by the violent destruction of sites and the arrival of a new people from Anatolia. These were probably the ancestors of the Greeks. In the next period (the Middle Bronze Age, c. 2000–1550) Crete replaced the Cyclades as the most prosperous civilisation in the

western Aegean, while Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean were dominated by the city of Troy VI, also settled about 2000 BC by newcomers from Anatolia.

After the first Cretan palaces had been destroyed c. 1700, probably by earthquakes, they were rebuilt on an even grander scale. By the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550) Crete was extending her influence widely across the Aegean, so that several of the island sites became culturally and perhaps also politically dependent on Crete. One of these, the town of Akrotiri on the volcanic island of Thera, was destroyed c. 1500 by an eruption which was followed shortly afterwards by the great explosion of the whole island. The precise sequence of events on Thera and their relation to the burning and abandonment of all the major Cretan sites except Knossos c. 1450 has been much debated, but however these sites were destroyed, their destruction marked the end of the Cretan dominance in the Aegean.

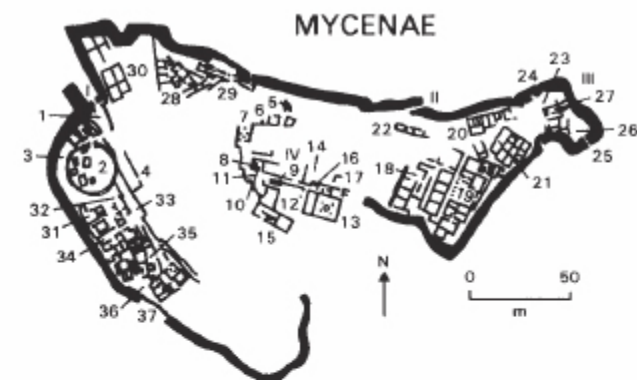
For the next 200 years (c. 1400–1200) the Mycenaean Greeks replaced the Minoans as masters of the Aegean. That their prosperity had been growing since c. 1600 is shown by the rich burials in the two Shaft Grave circles at Mycenae, and later by the construction of the monumental *tholos* tombs. After the Thera eruption the Mycenaeans moved into Knossos, and by 1400 seem to have had control of the whole of Crete, until the palace was finally destroyed a few years later.

In the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries there was relative peace in the eastern Mediterranean, and the Mycenaeans traded widely in the Aegean and beyond, replacing the Minoans in the island sites and establishing a major settlement at Miletus. On the Greek mainland palaces were built and some sites were heavily fortified. In the second half of the thirteenth century, probably as a result of internal wars, many of the Mycenaean sites were destroyed, the palace civilisation came to an end, and much of the population fled to Achaia and the Ionian islands in the west, and to Euboia, the Cyclades and Cyprus in the east. However, Mycenaean society continued in Greece for a further hundred years until early in the eleventh century, by which time all the major sites except Athens had been abandoned.

Mycenae

The citadel occupies a low hill, with Mounts Profitis Elias and Szara to

the north and east. Sherds suggest that habitation dates from the Neolithic period, but the site seems to have risen to importance during the Middle Bronze Age, when the wealthy Grave Circles A (found by Schliemann in 1876) and B were established; they form part of an extensive Middle and Late Bronze Age cemetery on the north west slopes. The Late Bronze Age city consisted of a palace on the hill, with houses, workshops and storerooms below. At first only the summit was fortified, though by the late thirteenth century a large area was enclosed, including the Cult Centre and Grave Circle A. Even with its massive walls and underground spring the city declined during the twelfth century, and was eventually burnt. However the area continued to be inhabited and in the Archaic period had a temple of Athene. Mycenae was sacked by the Argives in 468, but re-occupied in the Hellenistic period.



I Lion Gate III North-Eastern Extension
II Postern Gate IV Palace

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1 Granary | 20 House C |
| 2 Grave Circle A | 21 House D |
| 3 Middle Helladic peribolos wall of Grave Circle A | 22 Store rooms |
| 4 Great Ramp | 23 Underground spring |
| 5 North ascent | 24 North exit |
| 6 Guard-house | 25 Sally Port |
| 7 Propylon of the Palace | 26 House A |
| 8 West corridor | 27 House B |
| 9 Northern corridor | 28 House M |
| 10 West entrance | 29 Store rooms |
| 11 Southern corridor | 30 House N |
| 12 Palace court | 31 House of the Warrior Vase |
| 13 Megaron | 32 Ramp House |
| 14 Guest room | 33 Small Ramp |
| 15 Grand staircase | 34 South House |
| 16 Antechamber | 35 House with the Idols |
| 17 Apartments | 36 Tsountas' House |
| 18 Craftsmen's workshop | 37 Polygonal walling |
| 19 House of Columns | |

MYCENAEAN GREECE



Mainland Greece in the Homeric Poems and *The Homeric World* are intended as a guide to readers of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and show the known or probable location of the main places referred to by Homer. Like other aspects of the poems, Homer's geography is a mixture of memories from the Mycenaean world, contemporary knowledge of the

eighth or early seventh century BC, and fairy tale. The most detailed geographical information is given by the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad*, Book 2, which names 152 towns or districts in Greece and the islands, and 19 in Thrace, the Troad and Asia Minor. The position of many of these was unknown even to the Greeks of historical times, and it is likely that at least the Greek section of the Catalogue was a survival from the Mycenaean Age reflecting the settlement pattern of that period rather than of Homer's own time. Further evidence for this is provided by places in the Catalogue which archaeology has shown to have been unoccupied after the Mycenaean period (e.g. Eutresis, Krisa, Dorion and Pylos), and by the grouping of the towns into kingdoms which are quite unlike anything known in historical Greece. Although the Catalogue cannot originally have been composed to form part of the *Iliad* as we know it, the rest of the *Iliad* is broadly consistent with it in its picture of a Greece dominated by the important Mycenaean centres of Mycenae and Pylos.

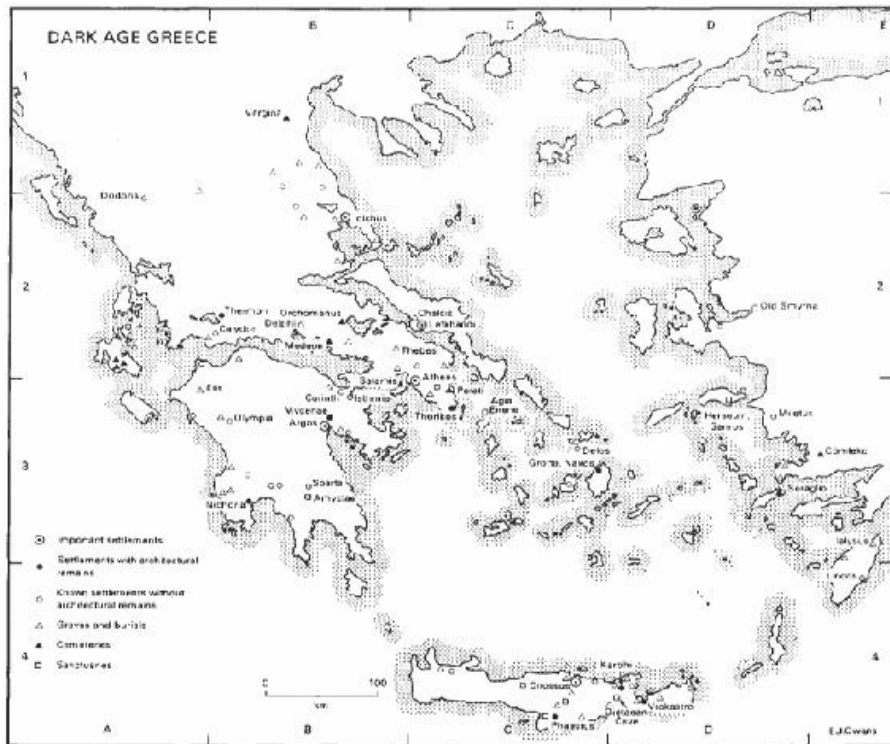
The Trojan section of the Catalogue is far less informative than the Greek. Although the Troad itself is described in some detail, the territories of the Trojan allies cannot be located with any certainty. The Trojan Catalogue appears to describe Asia Minor before the Ionian migrations of around 1000 BC, with no reference to any of the later Greek cities on the coast, apart from Miletus which is specifically said to be occupied by 'barbarian-speaking Carians'. But whether this means that the Catalogue was composed in the Mycenaean period, or merely represents later ideas of what Asia Minor was like at the time of the Trojan War, is still disputed. On the geography of the Troad, the rest of the *Iliad* adds details that are sometimes surprisingly accurate—for example, the fact that Poseidon could see Troy from the peak of Samothrace—and this feature has led to the suggestion that Homer may have had personal knowledge of the area.

It has also been claimed that the *Odyssey's* description of Ithaca and the islands round it was based on first-hand knowledge, but this has been questioned on the grounds that the account of the relative position of the islands is inaccurate. While the identification of Ithaca with modern Ithaki is now generally accepted, there is probably as much fiction as fact in the topographical details of caves, springs and bays on the island.

The main action of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* takes place in a world enclosed by Ithaca in the west, Troy in the east and Crete in the south. However, the boundaries of the Homeric world are extended by references to more distant peoples and places, Egypt and Libya in the south, Sidon and the Phoenicians in the east, as well as to a number of

more or less mythical tribes, the Ethiopians and Pygmies in the south, the Taphians in the west and the Cimmerians in the north. Finally there are the wanderings of Odysseus, from the time when he was blown off course round Cape Malea. The origins of these stories lie in folk tales without any specific geographical location, but attempts were made quite early on by the Greeks themselves to fit them into the geography of the Mediterranean, so that the Phaeacians were placed on Corfu, Circe at Cape Circeo near Naples, Scylla and Charybdis in the Straits of Messina and the Cyclopes on Mount Etna. This location of Odysseus' wanderings in the west probably reflects the opening up of Sicily and south Italy to Greek trade and colonisation in the seventh century.





Dark Age Greece

After the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation during the course of the twelfth century BC Greek history enters an era of darkness, which was not totally dispelled until the middle of the eighth century. This period is 'dark' both because information is lacking, and because such information as exists indicates an extreme cultural recession, characterised by depopulation, isolation and poverty. The substantial reduction in the number and size of occupied sites is proof of widespread depopulation: indeed some areas of the Aegean have so far produced no evidence of habitation during this period.

Depopulation was accompanied by regional fragmentation and isolation, as communications ceased not only within the Aegean but also with areas beyond. A significant feature of the Dark Age is the scarcity of architectural remains at most sites. This reflects the uncertainty of the times and, together with the poor quality of the other material remains, indicates the low quality of life. Except on Crete, where Bronze Age building traditions continued, graves alone supply the bulk of the evidence throughout these centuries. Technical and artistic skills, such as bronze working, writing and figured art, were also lost for a time.

The Dark Age, however, is not a period of total demoralisation. Life continued in certain areas, albeit at a much reduced level. In particular, Attica, the Argolid, parts of Thessaly and Crete managed to survive the worst difficulties of the age, and it was in these areas that the foundations of the eventual recovery of Greece were laid. New metal working technology was developed, and old skills rediscovered. Iron appears in several areas, and the cupellation of silver was undertaken at Argos and Thorikos by 900. Bronze working reappears at Lefkandi. Athens leads the rest of Greece with the development of the proto-Geometric style of pottery, from which evolved the full Geometric style from c. 900 onwards. Lefkandi has arguably become one of the most important sites for the elucidation of the Dark Age: here the excavation of several rich burials must modify our view of total poverty, at least from the later tenth century onwards. With the appearance of open air sanctuaries there is also the first indication of a change in places of worship. Before 1000 BC, too, the first tentative steps were taken to colonise the Aegean with the implantation of settlements along the west coast of Asia Minor.

This evidence must not be over-emphasised. Most parts of Greece remained depressed throughout the ninth century, and full recovery did not begin until the eighth century. But then remarkable changes and advances can be noted. A substantial increase in population is evident, both from the increased number of sites and the increased size of many settlements. As communications were opened up, areas of Greece for which evidence of settlement had been lacking, were again occupied. The west coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands were fully colonised. Contact with the Near East, which brought fresh impetus to many aspects of life and artistic development, was intensively renewed. The colonisation of the western Mediterranean was also begun.

Graves and cemeteries continue to supply the bulk of the evidence for the eighth century, but there is important information regarding architecture from such sites as Emborio, Old Smyrna and Zagora on Andros. Their substantial remains also confirm a more settled and prosperous existence. However the defensive nature of many sites, often in inaccessible or hidden locations, and the construction of fortification walls at Old Smyrna and Zagora suggest that life was still by no means secure.

Many new sanctuaries appear during this period, and it is clear that some were gaining a reputation beyond their immediate area. About half contain remains of temples. The dedication of votive offerings at Bronze Age sites is indicative of an interest in the heroic past. With

the introduction of writing from the Near East, Greece can be said to have finally put aside the Dark Age and to be emerging into the full light of history.



Greek Colonisation (Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC)

By c. 800 Greek traders had begun to venture beyond the Aegean with such confidence and regularity that Euboeans from Chalcis and Eretria had set up a 'trading station' (*emporion*) at Al Mina (the place called Posideion by Herodotus?) on the R.Orontes delta, excavated in the 1930s. Arguably these traders sought iron and copper above all. A comparable 'trading station' which Euboeans founded before 750 at Pithecusae in the gulf of Naples was succeeded during the latter part of the eighth century by their establishment of 'ports of call' at Zancle and Rhegium, and of settlements in fertile areas at Cumae, Leontini and Catane. Though Greeks were not blind to trading opportunities and other attractions, it was principally the prospect of good land free for occupation which prompted others to follow the Euboean example, in an effort to gain relief from the generally acute problems of

increased population and unequal division of land holdings throughout Greece. Further sites on the eastern seaboard of Sicily were quickly settled, and in the seventh century these acted as the springboard for foundations on the north and south coasts of the island. In south Italy development of the same type occurred simultaneously, with settlers from Achaea taking the lead.

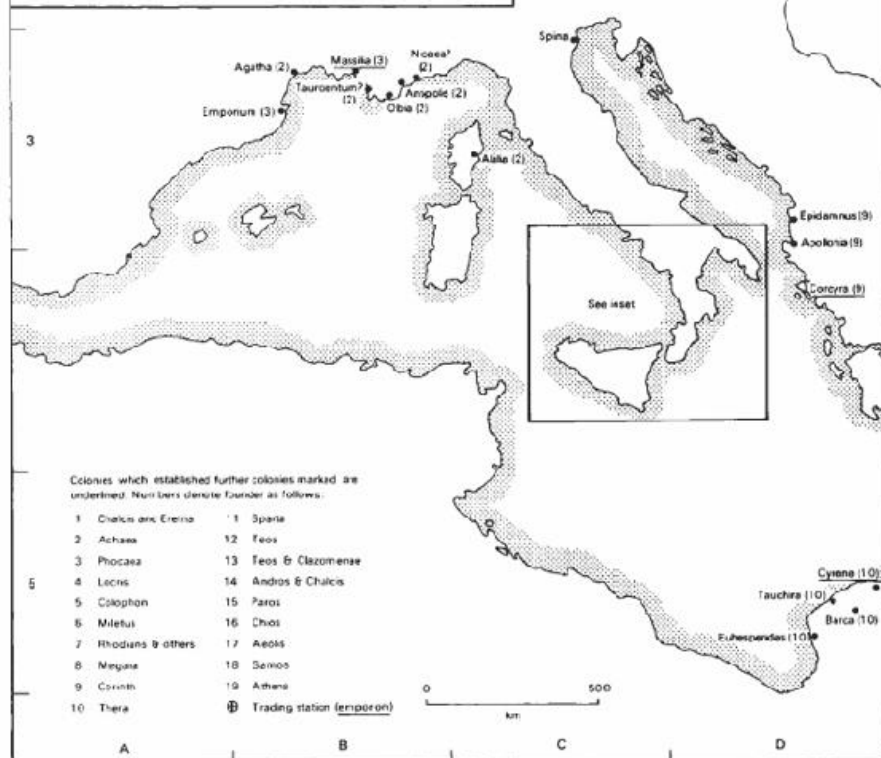
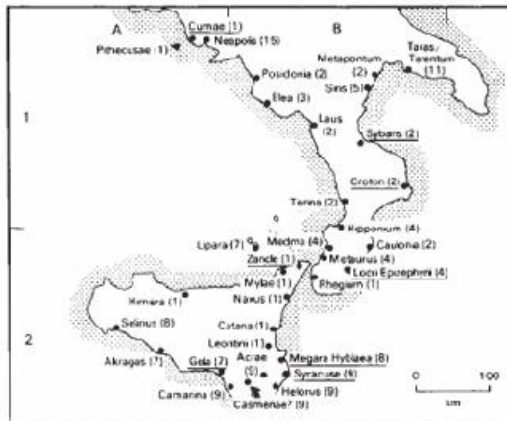
In a northerly direction it was again Euboeans who led the way with the establishment of settlements in Chalcidice during the late eighth century. In the seventh century other Greeks settled further along the northern shore of the Aegean, either side of the Hellespont, and around the Propontis. Despite its harsher climate the Black Sea was even penetrated by a few settlers at this date, but the main wave of foundations here did not come until the sixth century, mainly at the instigation of Miletus.

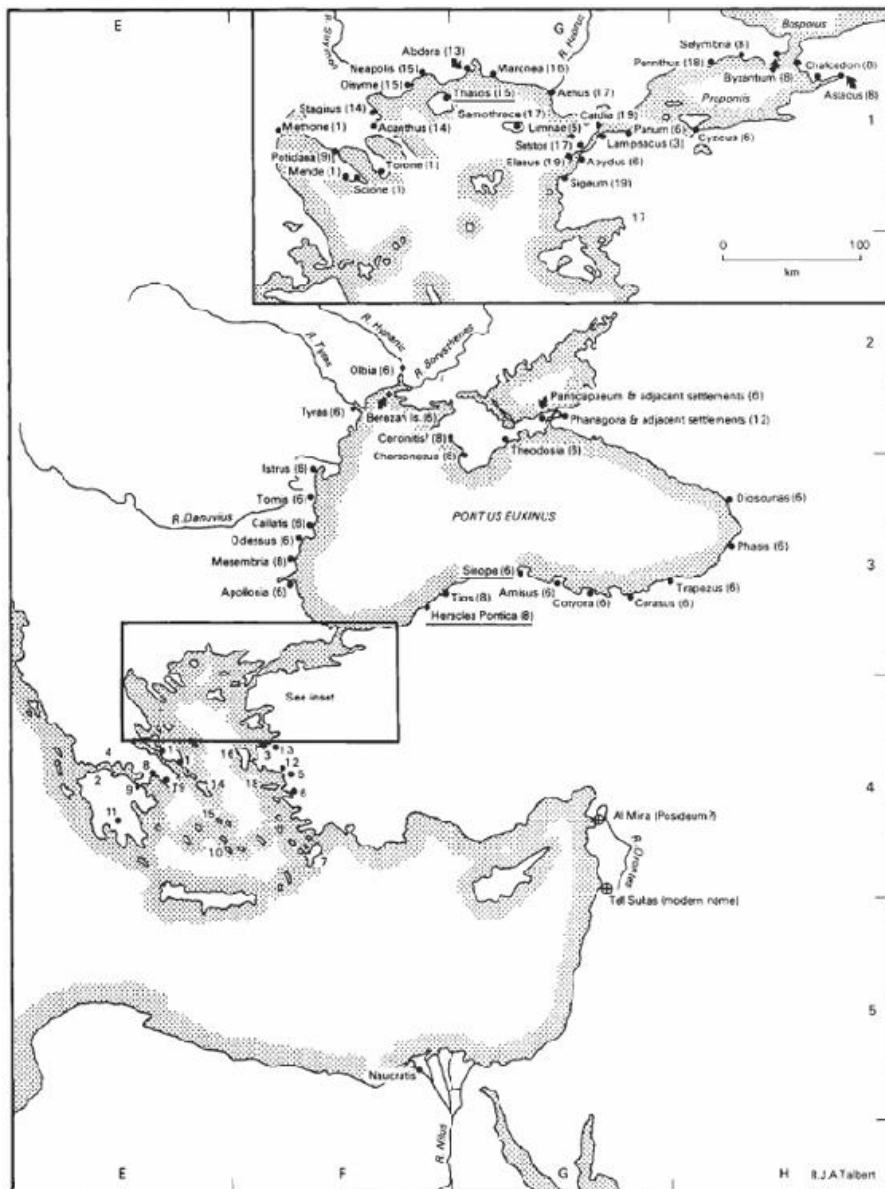
Elsewhere Greeks principally from Asia Minor were permitted to establish a 'trading station' and settlement at Naucratis, 50 miles up the Canopic branch of the Nile Delta, in the late seventh century. Cyrene near the North African coast was founded from Thera c. 630; later, early in the sixth century, Phocaea in Asia Minor planted settlements as far distant as southern France, Spain and Corsica. These areas, together with western Sicily, were also being settled by Phoenicians and Carthaginians. Though their motives seem to have been broadly similar to those of Greeks, hostile relations were the exception, usually the result of provocation.

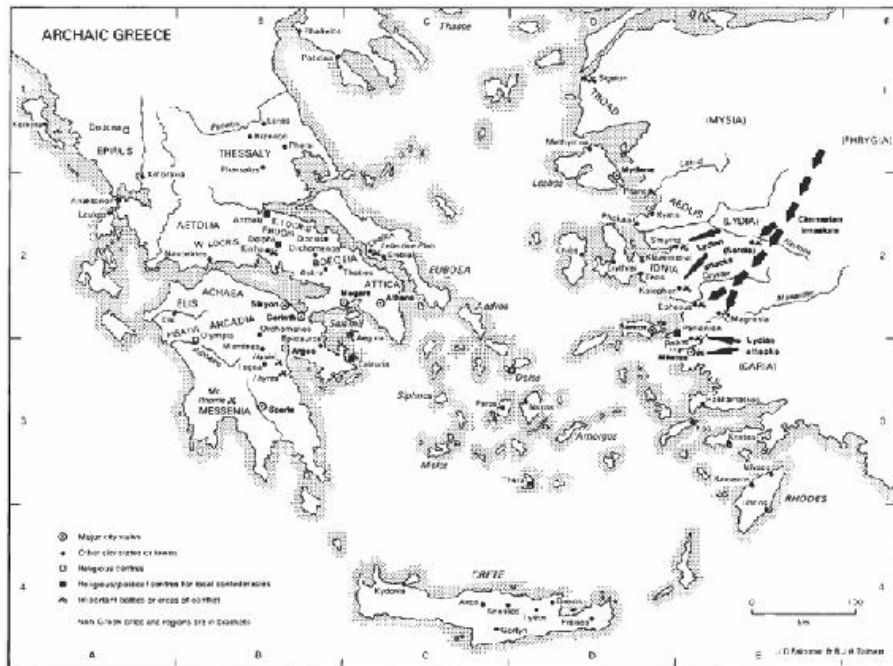
The modern translation 'colony' for the Greek *apoikia* misleads if it is taken to imply any degree of long-term dependence upon, or control by, the founders from mainland Greece. Rather, from the outset the settlements were intended to be independent, self-supporting communities, whose links with their founders would in normal circumstances be no more than those of culture, religion and sentiment. Each foundation would indeed enjoy the formal sponsorship of a community, which was thus recognised as the *metropolis* or 'mother city'. This community would appoint a leader (*oikistes*), furnish ships or other help, and gather colonists, who did not necessarily have to be its own citizens. However, its positive role would often lapse at this point, even though links of the type just mentioned would always remain strong. In special circumstances, where the social or agrarian problems of a community were particularly bad, the colonists might not even be volunteers—as, for example, in the cases of the Spartan foundation of Tarentum or the Theran foundation of Cyrene.

This last instance stands out as one of the best documented colonial ventures, thanks to the survival of an inscription embodying at least the gist of an archaic record to supplement Herodotus' narrative. Among ancient authors he and Thucydides furnish the most useful information about colonisation; later writers, like Strabo, have much less of solid value to offer. Excavation and the analysis of material remains (especially pottery) have therefore played a key role in illuminating further the character and development of colonisation, even if there is a limit to what may be securely deduced from such evidence. It is frustrating that so little written material survives to deepen our insight into the major topic of the relations between colonies and the local, normally less civilised, peoples of the areas settled.

GREEK COLONIZATION (8th-6th centuries B.C.)







Archaic Greece

The seventh and sixth centuries constitute an exciting formative period of the utmost importance in Greece. For the first time Greek history is now illuminated significantly by written records as well as by archaeology. Though its origins lie obscurely in the preceding Dark Age, unquestionably the emergence of the *polis* as the predominant political and social unit in Greece was a crucial step forward. Autonomous communities of this type—centred on a defensible town in control of its surrounding territory—became a distinctive feature of Greek civilisation throughout the Mediterranean and beyond.

However this is not to overlook wide variations in the speed and character of change. In many areas of Greece, especially the north and west, there was at best only a slow shift away from tribal organisation. Elsewhere Crete (see further pp. 155–6) and Sparta are distinguished by their idiosyncratic development. The latter, having at last achieved success in a struggle to conquer fertile Messenia shortly before 700, was then faced with bitter hostility not only from Messenians permanently subjected as helots, but also from jealous neighbouring states, Argos especially. A great battle at Hysiai in 669 resulted in a narrow Argive victory. During the late seventh century the strain which Sparta faced in containing a prolonged Messenian rebellion led

to a permanent transformation in the character of the state: most strikingly the Spartiates, or citizen males, became an exclusive military caste. Only during the sixth century was Sparta able to extend her influence further in the Peloponnese. Checked by an initial failure to annex Tegea, she proceeded instead to forge alliances, a policy which led to the formation of the Peloponnesian League under her leadership. By the late sixth century Sparta was the strongest of the mainland states.

As seen above (pp. 13–15), the Archaic period was one of widespread expansion and of increasing prosperity through trade and settlement. Communities either side of the Aegean—like Chalkis, Eretria, Miletus and Samos—were especially well placed to benefit, as was Crete to the south. On the Greek mainland this growth caused constant rivalry between ambitious neighbours such as Athens, Megara and Corinth. The latter built up a formidable fleet and consolidated her influence in north west Greece. She was also one of the first states where the impact of new wealth weakened the exclusive hold of a traditional landed aristocracy upon government. As a consequence of such strife (*stasis*), Corinth was seized around 655 by a single ruler or ‘tyrant’—not necessarily a pejorative term. Elsewhere too (as at Argos, Sikyon and Samos in particular) powerful tyrants established themselves for one or two generations before giving way to oligarchy or democracy. At Athens—not yet among the leading states—a political and economic crisis was alleviated in 594 by a mediator, Solon. But faction fighting persisted, so that eventually from 545, at his third attempt, Peisistratus set himself up as tyrant: he proved a wise ruler who, followed by his sons, did much to unify and stabilise Attica over 35 years, as well as to strengthen the economy. Athenian interest in Sigeion and the Thracian Chersonese, on the trade route to the Black Sea, dates from the sixth century.

On the eastern seaboard of the Aegean, the Greek cities first withstood Cimmerian incursions, and then from the 670s more persistent onslaughts by the Mermnad rulers of Lydia, a power which came to stimulate its Greek neighbours as well as to antagonise and dominate them. Coinage, for example, was a Lydian invention imitated by Greeks from about 600. The most successful military resistance was that of Miletus, arguably the greatest Greek city of the day, celebrated for its encouragement of culture and scientific enquiry as well as of colonial ventures northwards. Yet Lydia, and with it the Greek cities beyond, fell to Persia in the mid-sixth century. Thereafter Persian encroachment westwards was to make a lasting impact upon Greek history.

PERSIAN EMPIRE c.550-330

Map showing the Persian Empire c.550-330, including major provinces, cities, and geographical features. The map is divided into four quadrants labeled A, B, C, and D.

Legend:

- Land over 2,000m
- Area named in Persian Lists of Peoples
- Area listed in Herodotus' nomoi
- Attested satrapy
- Gift-giving subprovinces listed in Herodotus
- Royal road
- Kab. Cavalier
- Hyt. Hyttenes
- Magn. Magnesians

Major Provinces and Cities:

- MACEDONIA
- SCYTHIA
- HELLESPONTINE
- PHRYGIA (3)
- LYDIA (2)
- CARIA (1)
- IONIA (1)
- MAGN. (1)
- CAPPADOCIA (3)
- CILICIA (4)
- SYRIA (5)
- PHOENICIA (5)
- ABARNAHARA
- PALESTINE (5)
- ARABIA (G)
- ETHIOPIA (G)
- EGYPT (6)
- LIBYA (8)
- ARMENIA (13)
- ASSYRIA (9)
- MESOPOTAMIA
- COLOCHIA (G)
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Land over 2.050m

Area named in Persian
Lists of Peoples'

Area listed in Herodotus' *nomos* 3

Attested satrapy

Gift-giving subjects
listed in Herodotus

Kab	Cabaliot
-----	----------

Hysteresis

Magnesium

ETHIOPIA (G)

2

8

c. 540, the Lydian empire, extending west of the R.Halys to the sea. Third, from 539, the Neo-Babylonian empire, consisting of Mesopotamia, Susiane and Abarnahara ('Beyond the River', i.e. Syria/Palestine). Fourth, from 525, Egypt, extending south along the R.Nile to Elephantine/Syene. In addition, Cyprus came as either a precursor or a consequence of the conquest of Egypt; Cambyses had Arab help in 525 and Darius claimed 'Arabia' as subject in 522/21; Cilicia voluntarily submitted to Cyrus, retaining a native dynasty almost continuously until the fourth century. Herodotus and Persian 'Lists of Peoples' show significant additions by Darius: c. 518, India (West Indus valley); some east Aegean islands—Samos, Lesbos, Chios among them—and c. 513 Greek cities on the north Aegean coast; c. 513/12, Thracians south, and possibly north, of Mount Rhodope; c. 512 or 492, Macedonia; c. 513, Libya. The Persian lists alone add Ethiopia, Caria (not a new conquest) and, untruthfully, 'Scythians beyond the Sea'. Two new names appear in Xerxes' reign, Akaufaka (unlocated) and Daha. However his Greek failure ended expansion and brought permanent loss of European subjects, though, exceptionally, Persian occupation of Doriscus persisted for decades.

At best the empire now stretched from west Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt to Bactria/ Sogdiana and India. Chorasmia was certainly lost by the 330s, though some Indians did fight at Gaugamela in 331, coming perhaps from areas where Alexander later encountered native rulers still calling themselves hyparchs or even satraps. Even so, the empire never truly included *all* areas lying within the geographical limits outlined. Mysia, Pisidia and the Cardouchi, for example, appear autonomous c. 400, and this may be the norm at all periods.

Throughout the empire's history rebellion was a chronic problem—both nationalist secession, and satrapal attempts to seize the throne or to establish independent principalities. In 522 Darius' usurpation occasioned rapidly suppressed disturbances in Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Armenia, Egypt, Media, Parthia-Hyrcania, Sagartia, Sattagydia, Scythia, as well as in Persia itself. Lydia had revolted immediately after Cyrus' conquest, the Asiatic Greeks and Caria in 499–4, parts of Cyprus in 498–7 and possibly 478, Egypt in 486–5, Babylon in the late 480s. Certain unsatisfactory satraps had to be forcibly removed—like Oroetes at Sardis (c. 520), and Aryandes in Egypt (after 513).

After 480/79 the Asiatic Greeks rebelled again and were only regained securely by the King's Peace of 387/86. Egypt was persistently troublesome with two major rebellions: the first in the late 460s was not suppressed until c. 455, with instability in the Nile Delta lasting even longer; the second, c. 404, brought independence until 343.

There soon followed a third Egyptian rebellion between 338 and 336. Various parts of Phoenicia, Cilicia and Cyprus saw disturbances in the 380s, late 360s and early 340s. There were rebellions by satraps in Abarnahara (440s, Megabyxos; c. 416, Arttyphius), Lydia (c. 416, Pissouthnes; 401, Cyrus; late 360s, Autophradates), Hellespontine Phrygia (360s, Ariobarzanes; 350s, Artabazus), Caria (360s, Mausolus), Cappadocia (late 370s and 360s, Datames), and Armenia (late 360s, Orontes). Further east the evidence is less good, but shows a Median rebellion c. 408, a period of Cadusian secession from 405 to the 350s, and rebel satraps in Bactria (late 460s), Hyrcania (425/24, Ochus, alias Darius II), and possibly eastern Iran (under Darius II, Teritouchmes).

The political geography of the empire is a contentious topic. The present map seeks at least to take account of four types of enumeration of its constituent parts, though location is often conjectural and in some cases has not been attempted:

- a. the subject peoples in various, mostly Darian, royal texts (*not* satrapy lists);
- b. the 20 *nomoi* or satrapies in Herodotus 3.89 ff.;
- c. the nations found in Persian armies, especially those of Xerxes and of Darius in 331; in the former instance, the account of Herodotus 7.61 ff. is nearly identical with (b) above;
- d. the nations represented, either singly or in conjunction with others, in attested satrapal titles; this is a fluid list, especially in better documented areas, compiled almost entirely from *Greek* sources.



Persepolis

The ceremonial capital of the Persian Empire lies in south west Iran, on the north side of the plain of Marvdasht. Though the site may have been used by Cambyses II, it was Darius the Great (522–485) who was responsible for the foundation of the present complex. Most of the building was accomplished in the reign of Xerxes, in the thirteen years following 485. Buildings of this period include the Gateway of All Lands, the Hall of a Hundred Columns, and the Northern Staircase. Persepolis was the gathering place for the annual presentation of tribute to the Great King. This scene is represented in the magnificent reliefs of the Northern Staircase. The palace was destroyed by fire by Alexander the Great—by accident or design—in 330. Many of the stone slabs exhibit the marks of cracking by fire. Further columns have collapsed with the passing centuries. A few miles to the west are the tombs of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-e-Rustam, and further north Pasargadae and the tomb of Cyrus.

MARATHON, 490 B.C.



Marathon, 490 BC

The presumable position of the Athenian camp by the western foothills (at a Herakleion, not securely identified), and the certain position of the *Soros* (Athenian mass-grave), guarantee the main battle's location west of the R.Charadra; and if the remains of the later trophy were not significantly moved when reused in the Middle Ages, they may confirm the slaughter of fleeing Persians by the Great Marsh, shown in the Stoa Poecile painting. (The supposed 'Plataean Grave' near Vrana, and all dependent suppositions about the battle, should be rejected.) Much about the campaign is disputed. Did the Athenians move their camp during the days before the battle? What eventually precipitated the engagement? Likewise with regard to the battle itself, were the lines parallel with, or at right angles to, the shore? In this connection Herodotus' reference to the Persian centre pushing towards the *mesogaia* is unhelpful. Why did the Persian cavalry make no significant contribution?

Persian Wars

The 'Persian Wars'—*ta Medika*, 'Median things'— conventionally describes the two occasions on which Persian armies had to be driven out of the heart of mainland Greece.

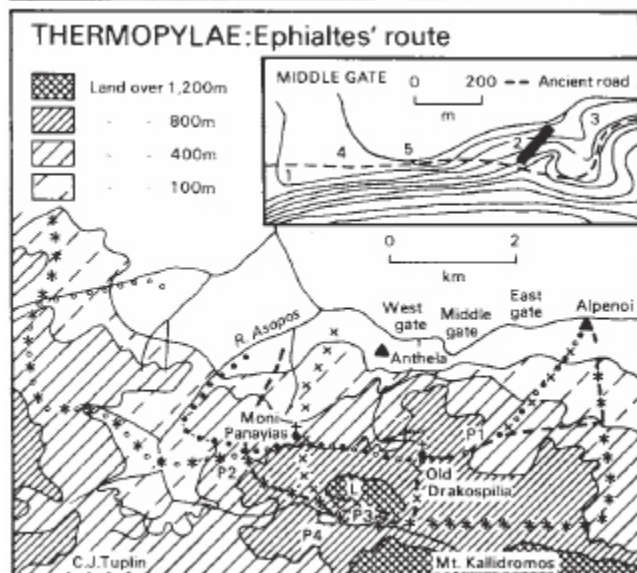
1. In 490 Datis led across the Aegean a seaborne expedition against Eretria and Athens, the two mainland states which briefly participated in the 'Ionian revolt' of Persia's Greek subjects in western Asia Minor (499/4). Persian aspirations on the mainland extended beyond Eretria and Athens. An earlier, unsuccessful punitive expedition against them had been instructed to conquer whatever it could, and Darius sought

formal submission from other Greek cities in 491/90. But there was no general movement by the Greeks to resist Datis. Only Athens helped Eretria, and only Plataea helped Athens. The Spartans did march north, but arrived too late. When Eretria fell through treachery after a brief siege, the population was deported to Cissia. However a different fate was presumably intended for Athens, since the exiled tyrant Hippias, who accompanied Datis, was hardly going to be restored to a deserted, smoking ruin. In the event the Athenians chose not to await a siege, but confronted the Persians where they landed in Attica, at Marathon (see p. 21). Despite their defeat here the Persians did then sail on to Athens, but proved unwilling to risk an opposed landing, and so returned to Asia Minor.

2. Xerxes' expedition (480/79) was much larger in scale, and was confronted by a more concerted resistance from the Hellenic League. The Serpent Column erected at Delphi as a thank-offering after Plataea listed 31 participants in the war, though it omits states which medized after initial resistance and some others. Xerxes planned a steady advance into the Greek peninsula from the north by army and fleet acting in conjunction. The overriding concern of the Spartan leaders of the League—protection of the Peloponnese—was not shared by Athens, whose fleet was vital to the Greek cause. There were therefore persistent and deep-rooted differences over strategy among the Greeks. But they did agree upon successive attempts to halt Xerxes at Tempe (abandoned as unsuitable before his arrival there), Thermopylae/ Artemisium (p. 24), and Salamis/ Corinthian Isthmus. Both the latter were co-ordinated land/ sea positions designed to keep the enemy army and fleet out of mutual contact; in the event the Persian army never actually reached the Isthmus. After the defeat at Salamis in September 480, Xerxes, together with his fleet and part of the army, retired to Asia Minor. The remainder, under Mardonius, wintered in Thessaly and Macedonia.

Neither side hurried into action the following year. In particular the Hellenic League, dominated by Sparta, showed little enthusiasm for searching out the Persians in northern Greece. Mardonius, after failing to detach Athens by diplomacy, re-invaded Attica. But when the Peloponnesian states eventually mobilised, he chose southern Boeotia as more favourable ground for a decisive confrontation. After their defeat at Plataea (p. 25), the Persians evacuated European Greece, except for garrisons in Thrace and the Black Sea approaches. Meanwhile after some hesitation a League fleet crossed the Aegean

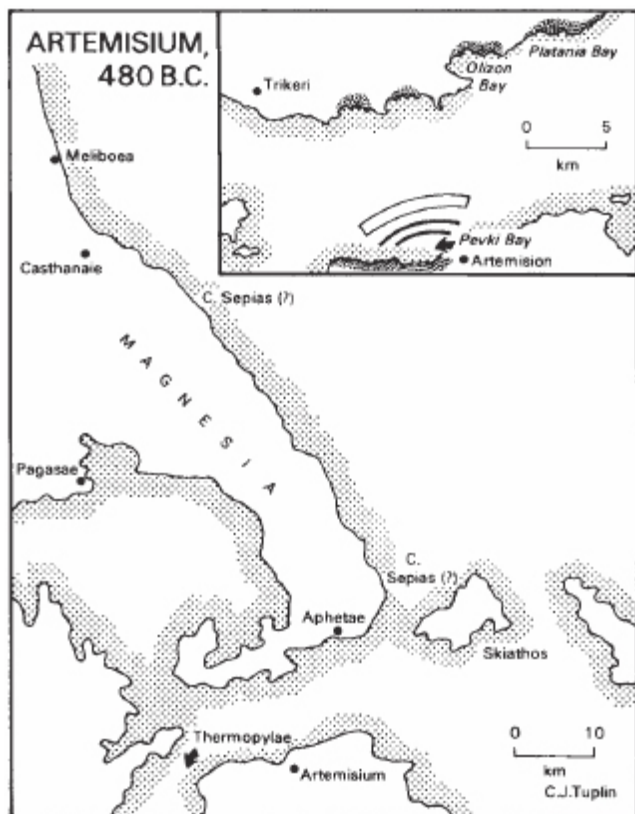
and defeated the Persians at Mycale, provoking a second Ionian revolt. The subsequent capture of Sestos (479) and of Byzantium (478) brought operations by the Hellenic League to an end, and marks the lowest limit of what would normally be called the Persian Wars.



Thermopylae: Ephialtes' Route

The fighting in the Middle Gate near the Hot Springs [1] is straightforward: for two days the Greeks repelled assaults in front of the Phocian wall [5]; on the third day they pushed further west [4], but then retreated to a hillock west of the wall [3], and were annihilated by attacks from front and rear. The location of the Middle Gate is quite clear, thanks to identification of the wall [2]. The major topographical problem is identification of Ephialtes' route. Disagreement centres around four questions. Did the route reach high ground south west of Thermopylae directly, or via the Asopos Gorge, or by a long western detour? Did it pass north of Mount Lithiza, or south? Where did it descend to the coast? Where was the Phocian detachment? The map shows the route and Phocian position according to Grundy (....., P1), Munro (ooo, P2),

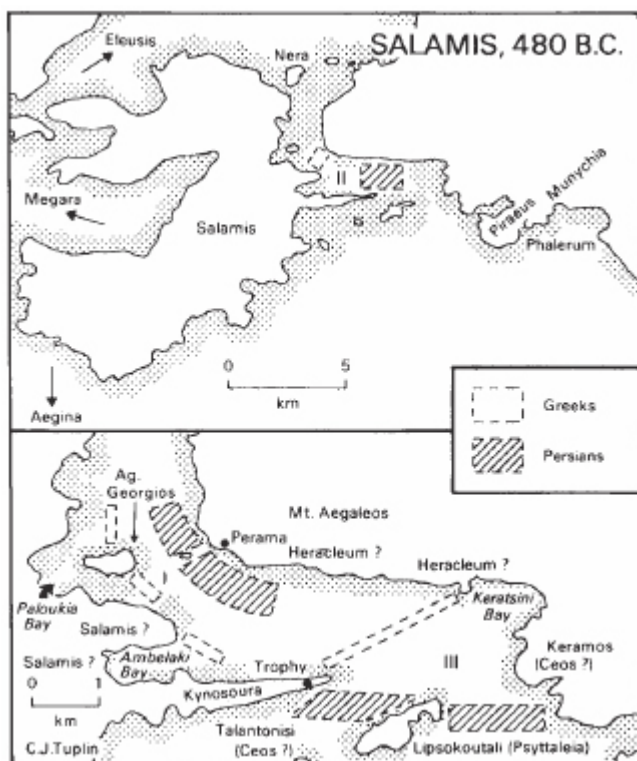
Burn 1951 (xxxx, P3), Burn 1977 (***, P3), and Pritchett (—, P4).



Artemisium, 480 BC

The Greek position at Pevki Bay is guaranteed by discovery of the

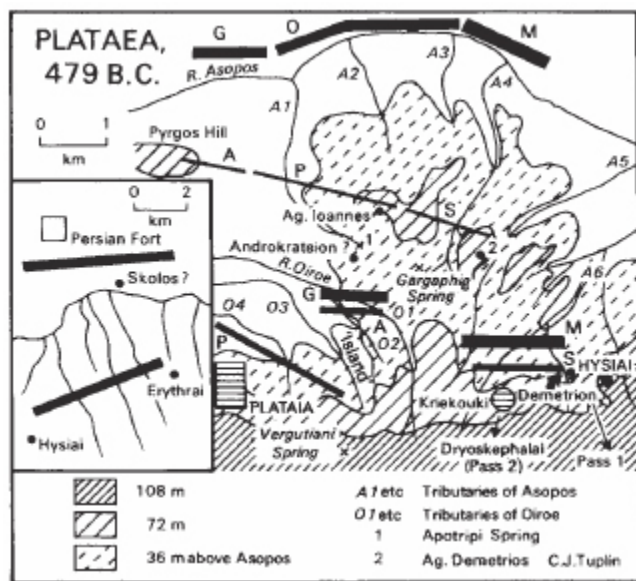
Artemis shrine. Aphetae, the Persians' headquarters, was probably at Platania, though their fleet doubtless occupied several beaches (suitable areas are shaded on the inset map). The fighting involved two afternoon raids on Persian positions (not shown), and a full-scale Persian attack on Artemisium. Herodotus' account of the first engagement—the ships fighting in concentric circles, with the Greeks *inside*—is incredible, while of the last he says only that the Persians attacked in a crescent. It is crucially unclear how far north this encounter occurred. The map assumes a position near Pevki and, consequently, two Greek lines. Other related problems include the location of earlier Persian moorings 'between Casthanaie and Cape Sepias', and the timing and credibility of the attempted Persian circumnavigation of Euboea.



Salamis, 480 BC

All discussions revolve around crucial obscurities. (1) Was the Greek fleet largely in Ambelaki or Paloukia Bay? (2) Was the Persian fleet's dawn position (a) along the Attic shore facing Ambelaki and/or Paloukia [I], (b) across the strait from Kynosoura to the Attic shore [II], or (c) from Kynosoura towards Piraeus facing north [III]? (3) If

(c), was the battle precipitated by the Persians sailing into the channel (and if so, was the eventual engagement of type I or II?), or by the Greeks coming out to a position across the channel entrance opposite the Persians [III]? The ancient battle monument on Kynosoura favours a southerly position, but does not decide other issues; and Xerxes' reported expectation that Psyttaleia (surely Lipsokoutali) would be near the battle could have been falsified in the event.

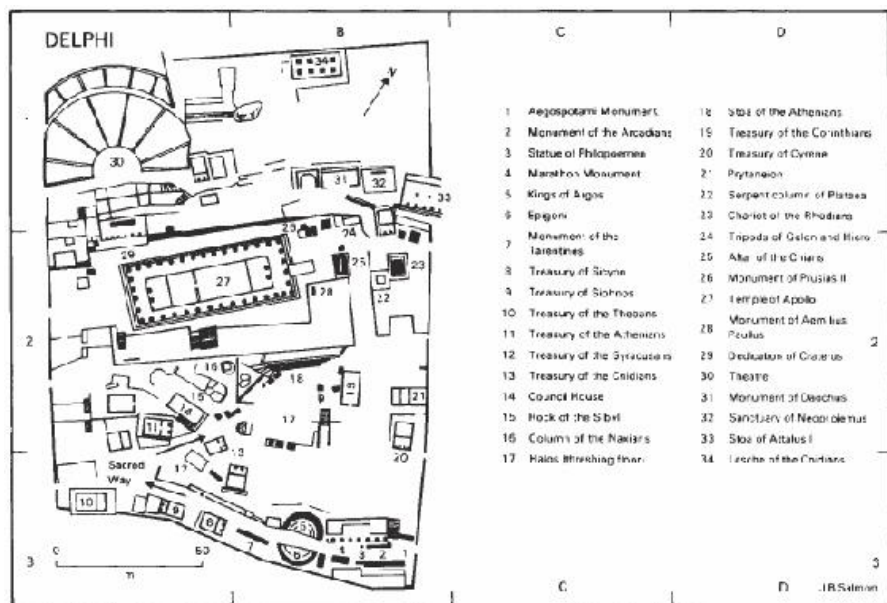


S: Spartans. P: Peloponnesians, Euboeans, NW Greeks, Aeginetans, Megarians. A: Athenians, Plataeans. M: Persians (under Mardonius). O: Medes, Bactrians, Indians, Sacae (under Artabazus). G: medizing Greeks.

Plataea, 479 BC

Cavalry attacks and lack of water caused the Greeks to move from their initial position (inset) to the Ag. Demetrios-Pyrgos line (this location depends on the usual equation of Gargaphia with the modern Rhetsi springs). The Persians followed suit north of the Asopos. After 12 days during which the Persian cavalry harassed Greek water-carriers by the Asopos, cut supply lines over Dryoskephalai (day 8), and fouled Gargaphia (day 12), the Greeks moved south in some confusion. The positions of P indicated here, in front of Plataea, and of S, by a Demetrian (site fixed by the find-spot of inscriptions relating to

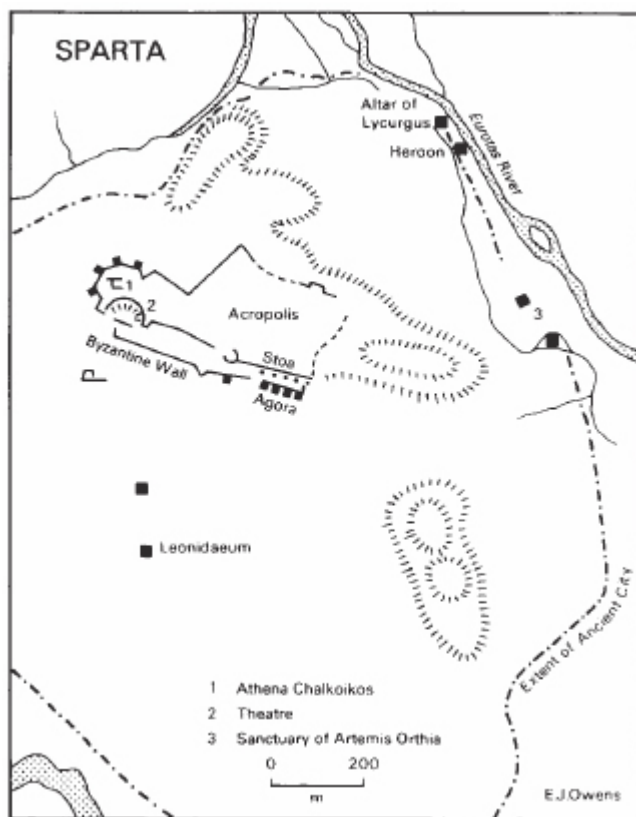
Demeter) are fairly certain; that of A much less so. In their ensuing attack the two Persian wings were defeated and fled to the fort (M) or to Thebes (G), while the centre withdrew without engaging. The left wing of P, moving to support A, was severely mauled by Theban cavalry.



Delphi

The origins of the oracular cult of Apollo at Delphi are obscure. But its close association with the foundation of colonies in the west in the second half of the eighth century established a reputation which was maintained until a defeatist attitude was adopted to the invasion of Xerxes in 480. The present temple of Apollo (27) was built in the mid-fourth century; the expenses were met by contributions from the whole Greek world. Earlier temples on approximately the same site had been destroyed in 373 and 548. The earliest temple has not yet been traced, but already before the end of the seventh century Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, built the first known treasury on the site (19). Numerous similar buildings followed, to house moveable dedications; there were already some half-dozen by the end of the sixth century. Other monuments in this panhellenic centre commemorated particular events. Like the treasuries, they were placed beside the Sacred Way, along which worshippers climbed the steep path to the temple. The Serpent Column (22), dedicated by the combined Greek states after Plataea, was erected near the temple.

Lower down, the intercity rivalries which led to many of the dedications are reflected in their locations: just beyond the entrance to the precinct are to be found the Spartan monument for Aegospotami (1), an Arcadian dedication of the fourth century (2), the Athenian monument for Marathon (4) and two Argive structures (5–6), while the Syracusan Treasury (12), built after the defeat of the Sicilian Expedition, faces the Athenian Treasury (11), erected nearly a century before. The changed political conditions of the late fourth century are reflected in the dedication of Craterus (29), which depicted his rescue of Alexander the Great during a lion hunt in Persia. The Halos (17) was the venue for a ritual associated with the cult. Nearly a kilometre away to the south east was the sanctuary of Athena.

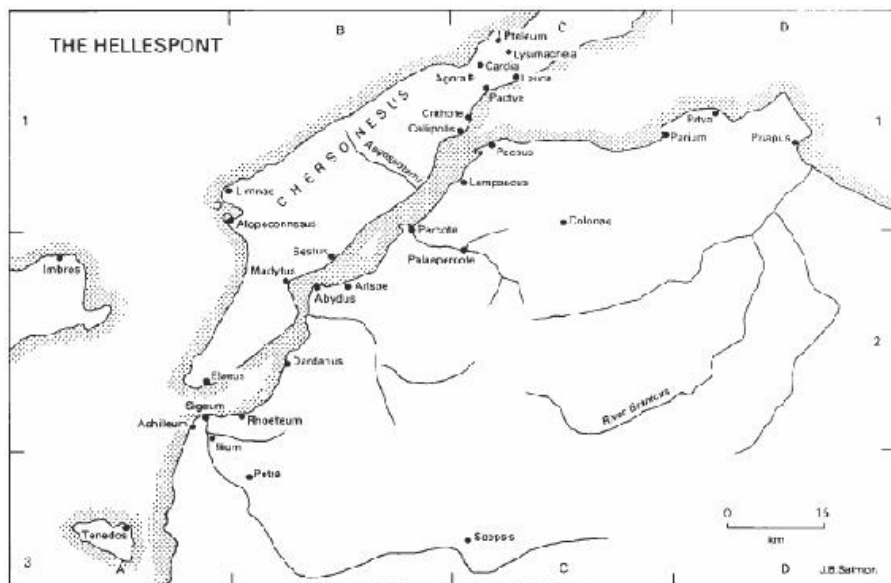


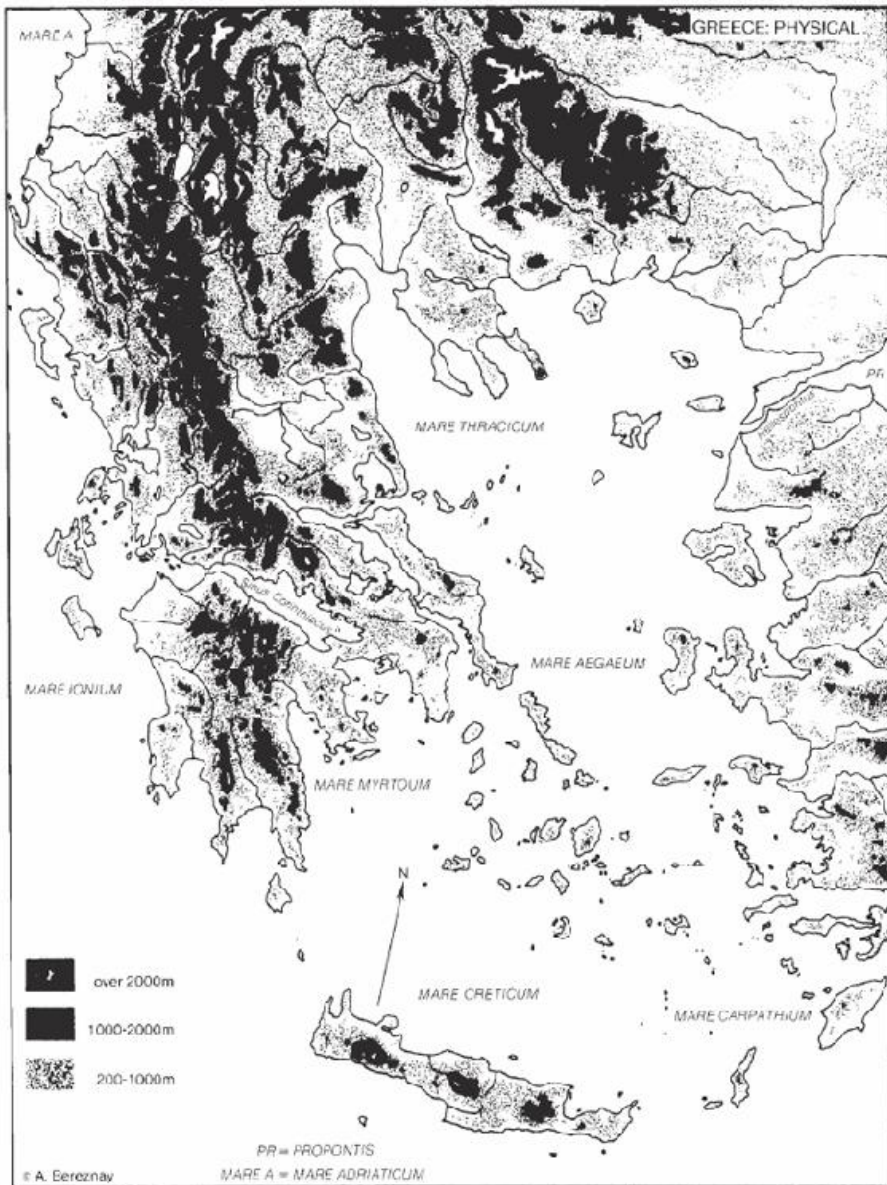
Sparta

Sparta's abnormal development had profound effects on the city itself. First, Spartans claimed that their soldiers were their walls, and although the city was partly walled in the fourth century, not until the second was it completely fortified. Thus Sparta for long remained a

group of loosely-knit villages along the banks of the R.Eurotas. Second, there was no embellishment of the city, and the remains support Thucydides' remark that it possessed few public buildings.

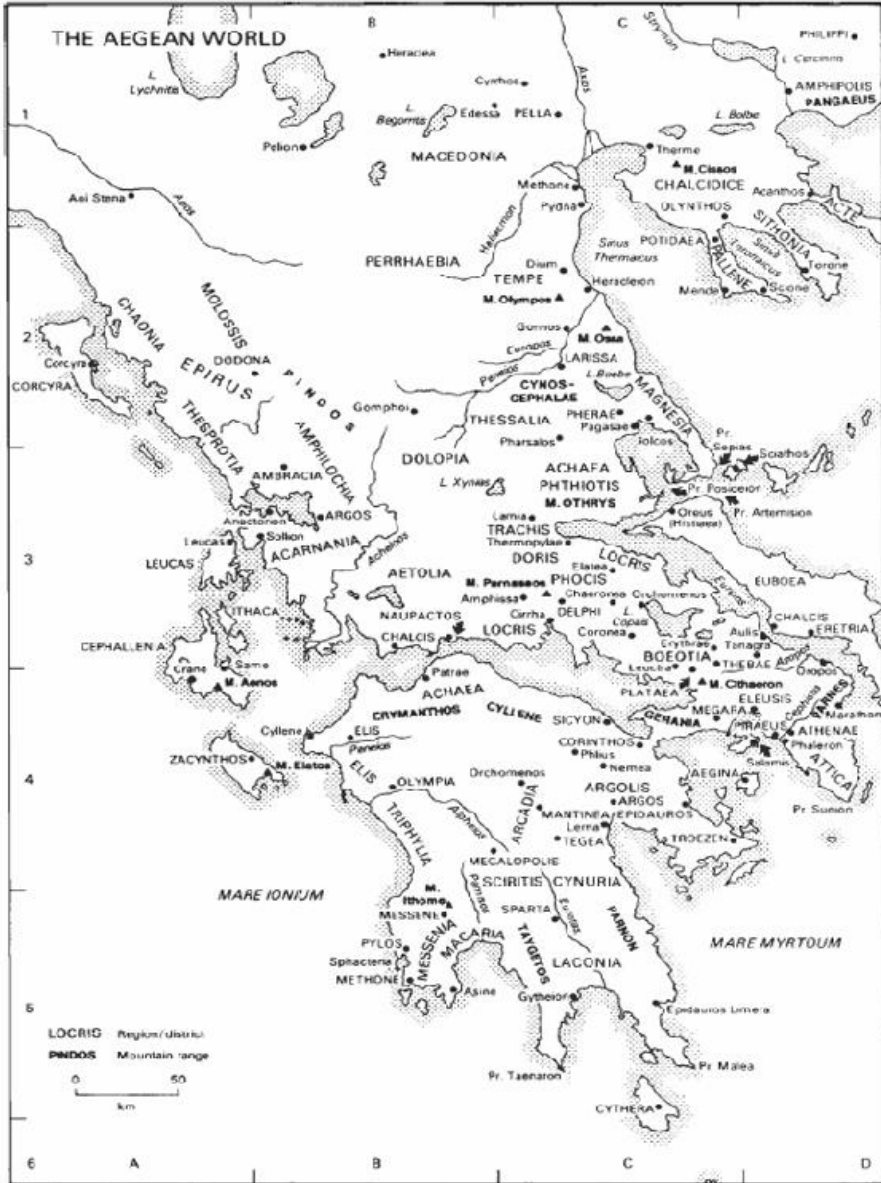
Archaeologists have concentrated on the acropolis, where the site of the archaic temple of Athena Chalkioikos has been identified. The theatre is Hellenistic, as is the small temple to the south, wrongly identified as the 'tomb of Leonidas'. The stoa above the agora is Roman. East of the acropolis, close to the river, other monuments have been found: most important is the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, where an early altar and temple have been identified. A theatre for spectators was added in the second century AD.

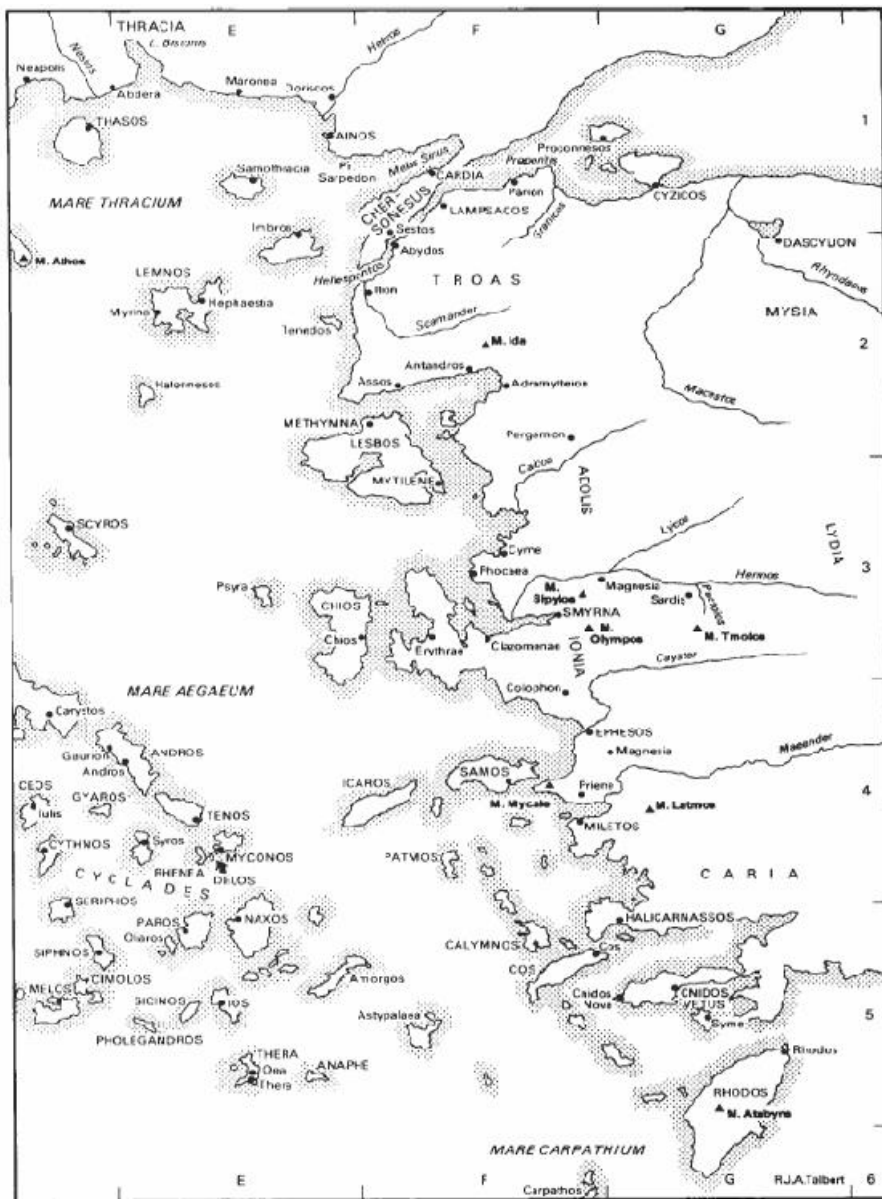






THE AEGEAN WORLD



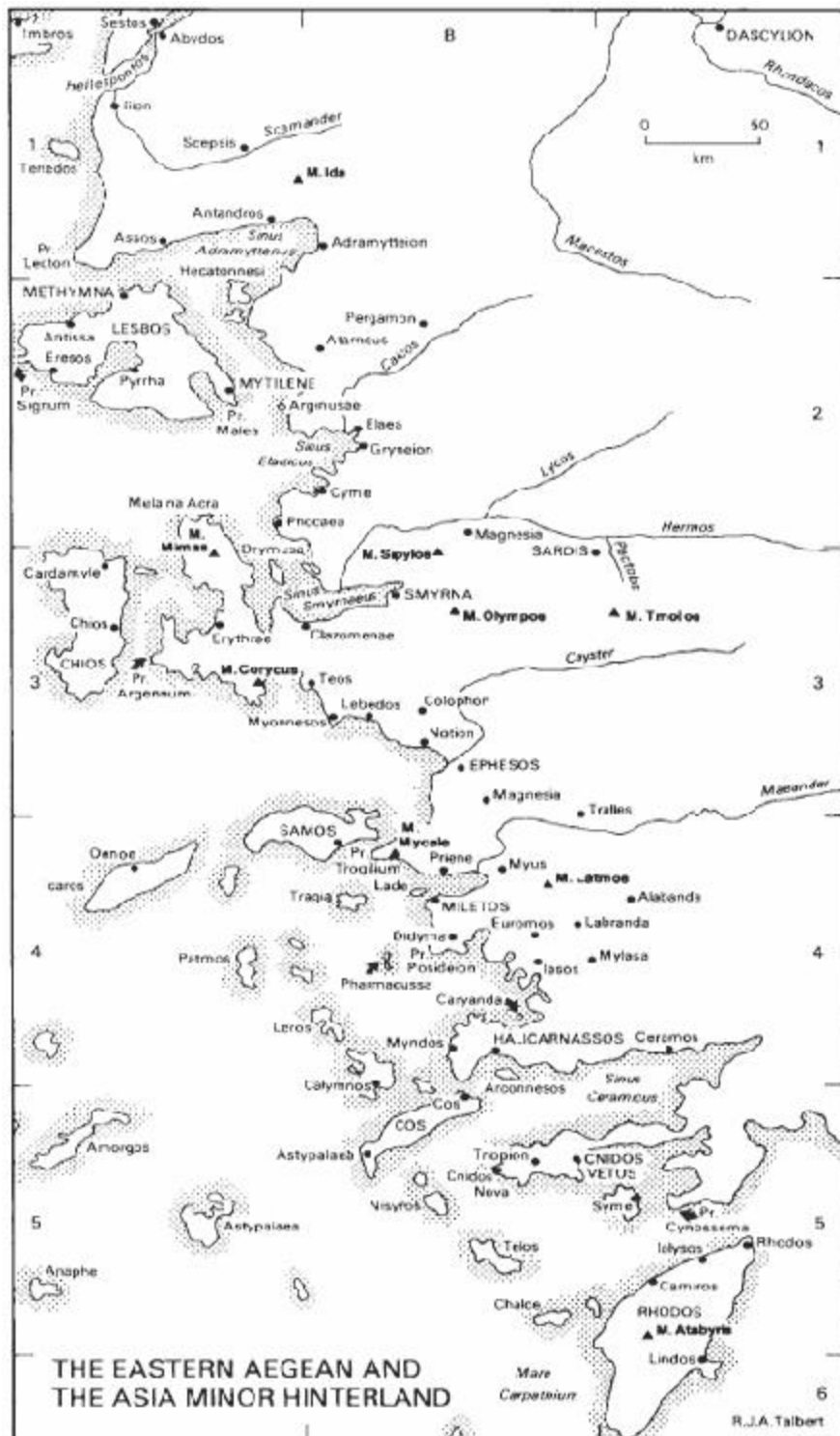


NORTHERN GREECE, MACEDONIA AND THRACE

0 25 km

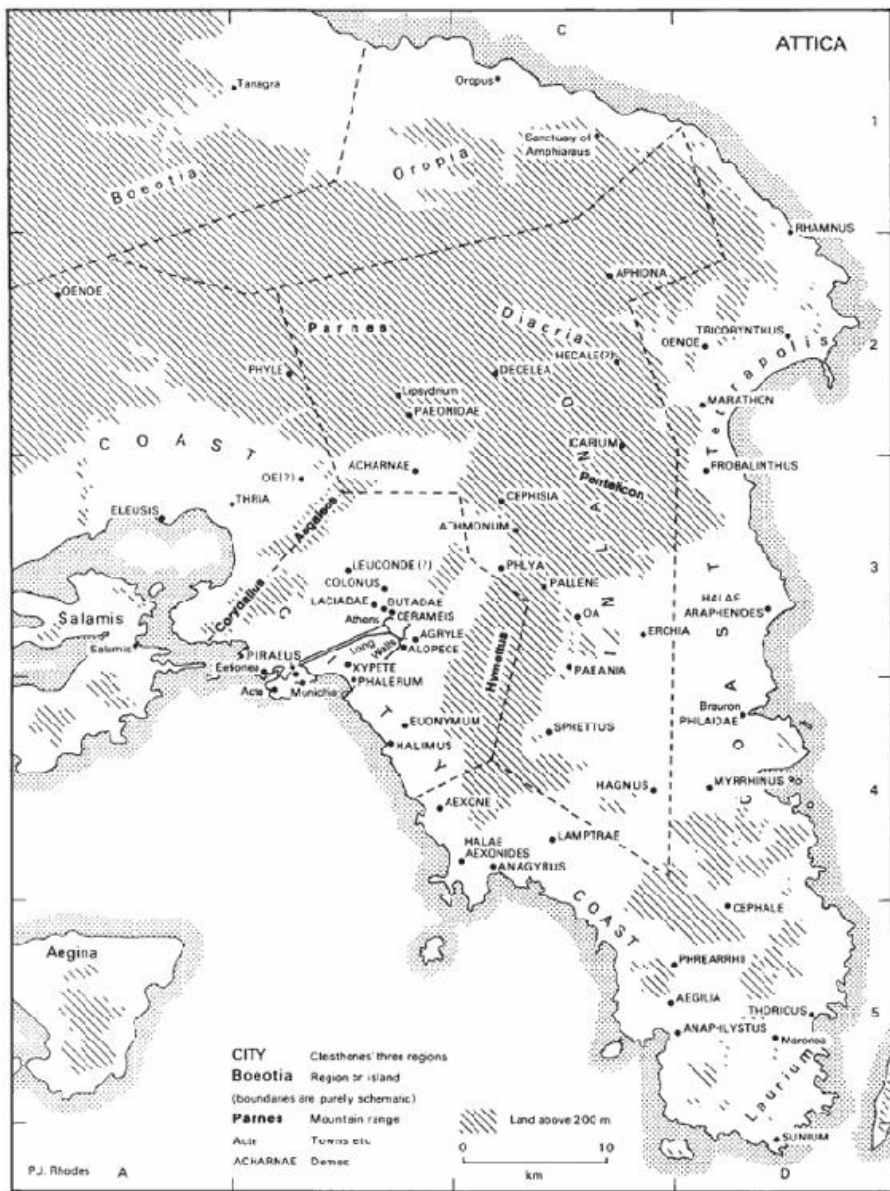
Map showing the region of Northern Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace. Major cities and locations marked include Thessaloniki, Kozani, Kavala, and various smaller towns and villages. The map also shows the Aegean Sea, the Balkan Mountains, and the Thracian Plain. A scale bar indicates distances up to 25 km.

R. A. Talbot 2



THE EASTERN AEGEAN AND
THE ASIA MINOR HINTERLAND

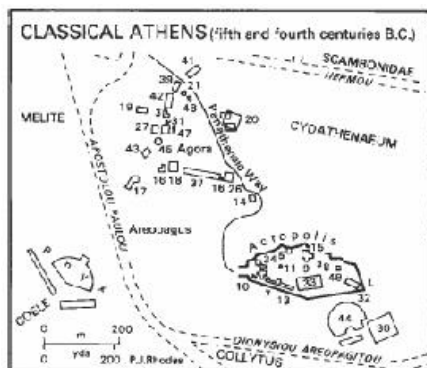
R.J.A. Talbot



Attica

By the seventh century BC the whole of Attica (about 2,500 sq. km) belonged to the city state of Athens. Eleusis was the last area to be fully incorporated in the state. Salamis, acquired from Megara in the sixth century, Eleutherae (in the far north west, beyond Oenoe), acquired from Boeotia in the same century, and Oropia, disputed between Athens and Boeotia, were ruled as subject territory. By

Cleisthenes' reforms of 508/7 Attica was organised in 139 demes. These were grouped to form ten tribes in such a way that each tribe comprised one *trittys* ('third') based on, but probably not wholly located in, each of the three regions, City, Coast and Inland. The demes forming a *trittys* were sometimes, but not always, a group of adjacent demes. These tribes and their subdivisions formed the basis of the army and of every aspect of Athenian public life. The Long Walls linking Athens to the harbour town of Piraeus were built in the mid-fifth century.

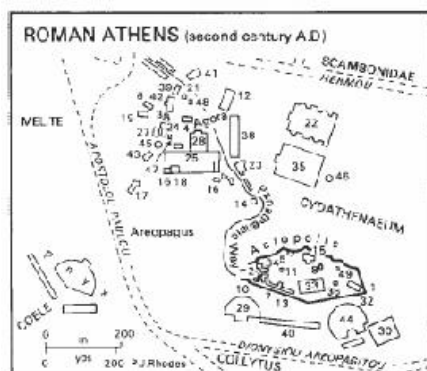


Classical and Roman Athens: Key

Buildings etc.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Aclerius, cave of (new location) | 26 Mint |
| 2 Acropolis monument etc. | 27 New Bouleuterion |
| 3 Apollo Patroos, temple of | 28 Odeum of Agrippa |
| 4 Arco, temple of | 29 Odeum of Herodes Atticus |
| 5 Arctephori, house of | 30 Odeum of Pericles |
| 6 Arsenal (?) | 31 Old Bouleuterion |
| 7 Artemis Brauronia, sanctuary of | 32 Pnyx, shrine of (?) |
| 8 Athena, altar of | 33 Parthenon |
| 9 Athena, site of old temple of | 34 Propylaea |
| 10 Athena Nike, temple of | 35 Roman Agora |
| *1 Athena Promachos, altar of | 36 Rome and Augustus, temple of |
| 12 Basilica | 37 South Stoa |
| 13 Chalcostepane | 38 Stoa of Attalus |
| 14 Eleusinium | 39 Stoa of the Basilica |
| 16 Erechtheum | 40 Stoa of Eumenes |
| *6 Fountain houses | 41 Stoa Pnyx |
| 17 Geol. | 42 Stoa of Zeus |
| 18 Helios | 43 Strategion (?) |
| 19 Hephæsteum ('Theatrum') | 44 Theatre of Dionysus |
| Lawcourts (two small buildings replaced by one large) | 45 Tholos |
| 21 Leocoreum | 46 Tower of the Winds |
| 22 Library of Hadrian | 47 Tribal shrines, statues of (fourth-century location) |
| 23 Library of Ptolemaeus | 48 Twelve gods, altar of |
| 24 Metroon | 49 Zeus Philios, shrine of (?) |
| 25 Middle Stoa | |

MELITE
Phyx
HENAKLI
Modern streets

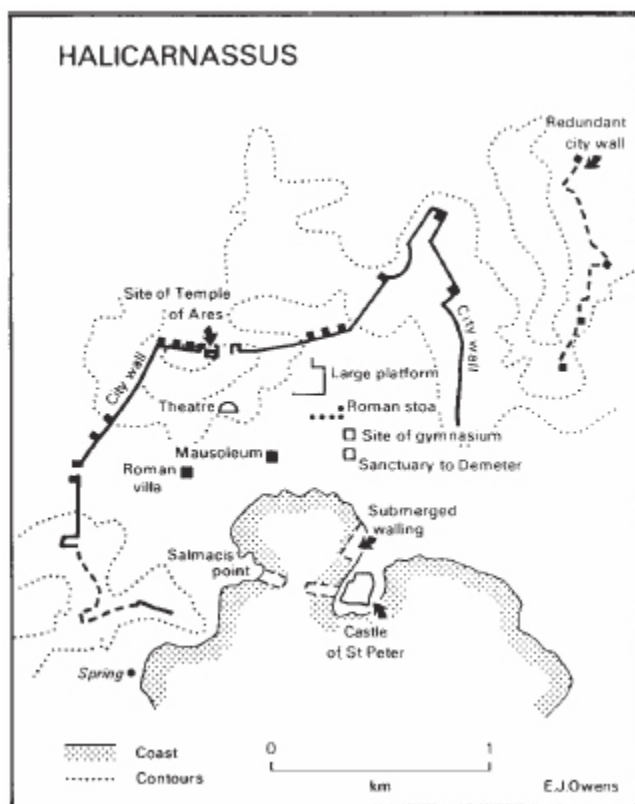


Athens

There is space here to show the centre of the city only. Athens, eight km from the sea, was occupied from the Neolithic period; a wall was built round the Acropolis in the Late Mycenaean period (thirteenth century BC). In classical Athens the Acropolis was the religious centre, where the principal temple of Athena stood (from the 440s/30s onwards, the Parthenon). The Areopagus was the meeting-place of the oldest council of state. In the sixth century the area to the north of it was cleared of private houses and graves, and became the Agora, the

main square of the city; major civic buildings were erected on its west side in the fifth century. This may have been the original meeting-place of the assembly: the Pnyx was set out for the assembly in the fifth century.

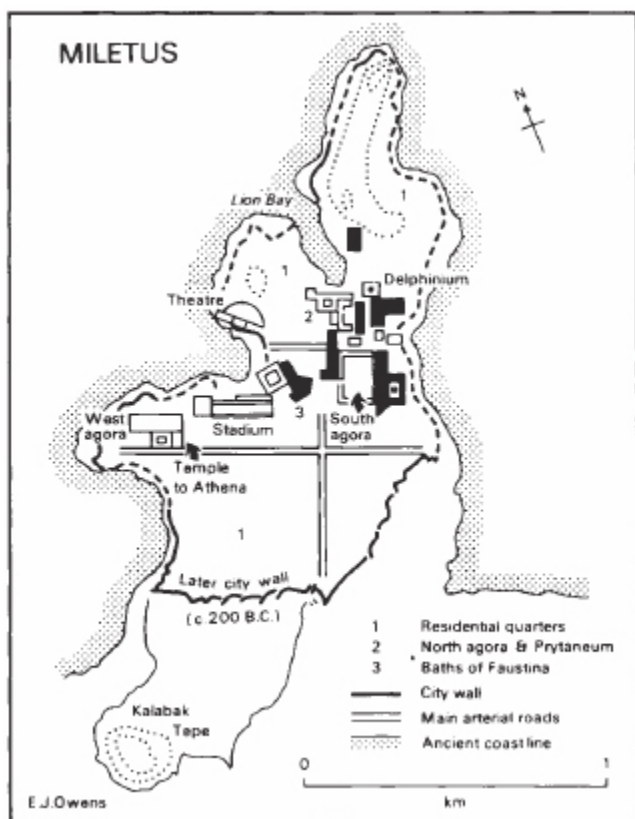
In the Roman period a new market and the Library of Hadrian were built to the east of the Agora, and there was expansion further east in the 'City of Hadrian', an area occupied in classical times, but outside the classical city wall. Athens was sacked by the Persians in 480/79, by Sulla in 86 BC, by the Herulians in AD 267, and on various occasions thereafter. Although in prosperous times a greater area was occupied, a new wall after AD 267 enclosed simply the Acropolis and the area due north as far as the Roman market. The Parthenon, Erechtheum and Hephaestum were all converted into Christian churches, and later the Parthenon became a mosque: that so much of them survives is due to this re-use.



Halicarnassus

Halicarnassus, occupying a naturally fortified position and with a

good, sheltered harbour, was originally colonised by Dorians at the eastern promontory of the harbour (Zephyrion), where the ruined castle of St Peter now stands. Although by the classical period the town had expanded to include the western promontory (Salmacis), and the population had been increased by Ionian and native elements, Halicarnassus remained small until the accession of Mausolus to the satrapy of Caria in 377/6. Realising the advantages of the site, he chose it as his new capital, and transformed Halicarnassus into one of the most splendid cities in the ancient world. According to Vitruvius the buildings, rising on terraces, resembled the tiers of a theatre with the agora close to the shore, the Mausoleum on a broad avenue which ran across the middle of the city, and, dominating all, a temple to Ares on Göktepe. Due to continuous occupation throughout antiquity, only the walls and the sites of a few buildings remain. Thus many topographical details are problematic.



Miletus

Situated on a peninsula opposite the mouth of the R.Maeander, during

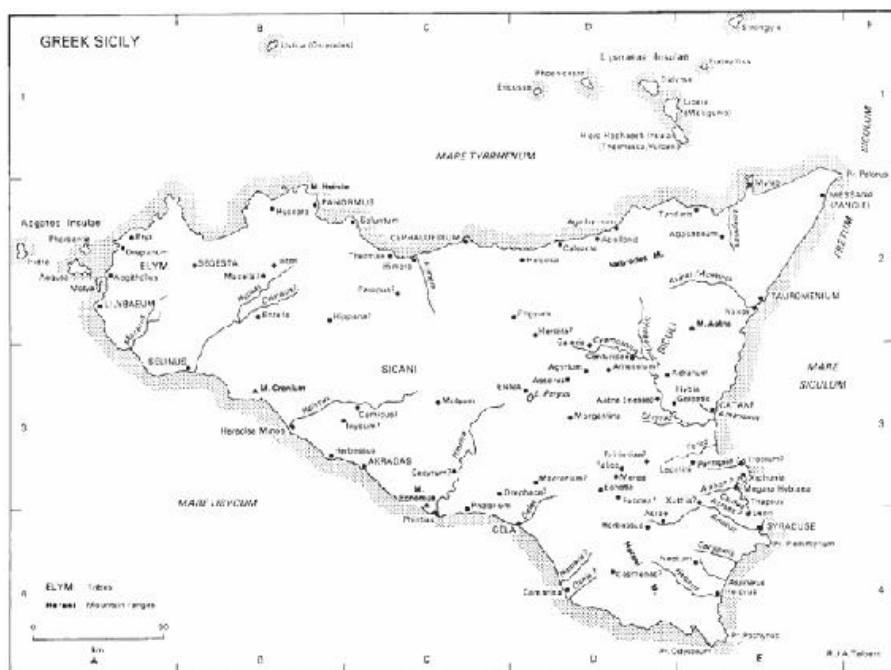
the seventh and sixth centuries Miletus became an outstanding cultural and commercial centre. Traces of the extensive archaic city have emerged round Lion Bay and the Delphinium, on the theatre hill, around the temple to Athena, and as far south as the acropolis of Kalabak Tepe. Some parts evidently had a regular layout and basic amenities.

After its destruction by the Persians in 494 Miletus was rebuilt on a grid (only partially known). A large central area was reserved for future public use. In typical fashion the defences were not integrated with the street system, and main roads do not lead directly to the gates. Although the existing monuments are Hellenistic and Roman (the theatre dates to c. AD 100), several buildings, especially the northern agora, the Delphinium and the temple to Athena can be traced to the classical period, and the Prytaneum to even earlier. Silting of the R.Maeander eventually led to Miletus' decline.



Priene

Priene was always overshadowed by nearby Miletus and suffered even more than her from the silting of the R.Maeander. By the mid-fourth century the coast had so receded that the city was re-founded on a spur of Mount Mycale further downstream from its original site. It is remarkable for the application of a grid plan to a difficult, steeply sloping location, where the major arterial roads run east-west, while narrower streets, in places reduced to flights of steps, cross these at regular intervals to form rectangular blocks. Most public buildings are concentrated round the centrally sited agora and conform to the grid plan. Exceptionally the stadium, located at the lowest point in the city, is misaligned to take advantage of the level ground of the coast. The theatre—probably the best surviving Hellenistic example—is situated above the civic centre. Alexander, who made a visit here in 334, dedicated the temple to Athena. The terrain allowed water, conveyed by an aqueduct, to be piped throughout the city.



Greek Sicily

Sicily was one of the first areas colonised by Greeks from the latter part of the eighth century BC, in particular along its eastern and southern seaboard. The settlers' search for fertile agricultural land was amply rewarded, and a flourishing export trade to the Italian peninsula, north Africa and mainland Greece brought the leading

communities an impressive level of prosperity. The character of their relations with native peoples varied, but the archaeological record shows how everywhere native territory was infiltrated by degrees, so that after c. 400 the tribes faded from the historical record.

Quite independently, Phoenicians were attracted to the far west of the island around the same time as Greeks reached the east. The first Phoenician base, on the tiny island of Motya, was perhaps intended as no more than a port of call on long-distance trading voyages.

Thereafter, however (though the time-scale is obscure), cultivation of good land was the principal purpose of settlements at Panormus (Phoenician Ziz) and Soluntum, both perhaps dating from the seventh century; Motya was linked to the mainland by a causeway. These communities were independent of Carthage, and their relations with Greeks in the island remained generally excellent until around the end of the fifth century. Even later, when a Punic *epikrateia* comes to be recognised in treaties, it is best taken as a loose 'zone of influence', in no way presupposing a rigid barrier between the two races; while any notion that Carthage desired to further imperialistic ambitions in Sicily is misplaced.

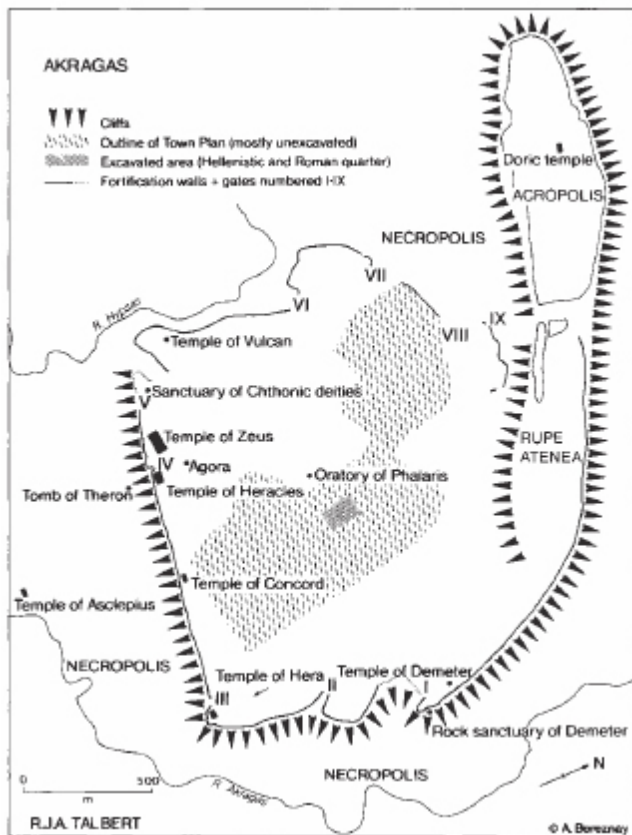
Syracuse

The eighth century Corinthian settlement at Syracuse was originally confined to the island of Ortygia, which has a fresh water supply in the fountain of Arethusa, and sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena dating back at least to the sixth century. It must have been similarly early that the island became linked to the mainland by a causeway, and the adjacent area of Achradina (A on map) was settled, with agora, fortification wall, and the earliest cemeteries beyond. Later the city expanded into the districts of Temenites (TE), Neapolis (N), and Tyche (TY).

The siege by Athenian forces in 415/13 is narrated in detail by Thucydides: their bases were on the coast in the marshy area of Lysimeleia, on the bleak, waterless headland of Plemmyrium, and on the steep, uninhabited plateau of Epipolae, which dominates the city. But the Athenian plan to confine Syracuse within a wall running from Lysimeleia northwards (proceeding either north or north eastwards across Epipolae) was never completed; the Syracusans built three counter-walls to frustrate their attackers. The city together with Epipolae was ringed with fortifications by Dionysius I in the early

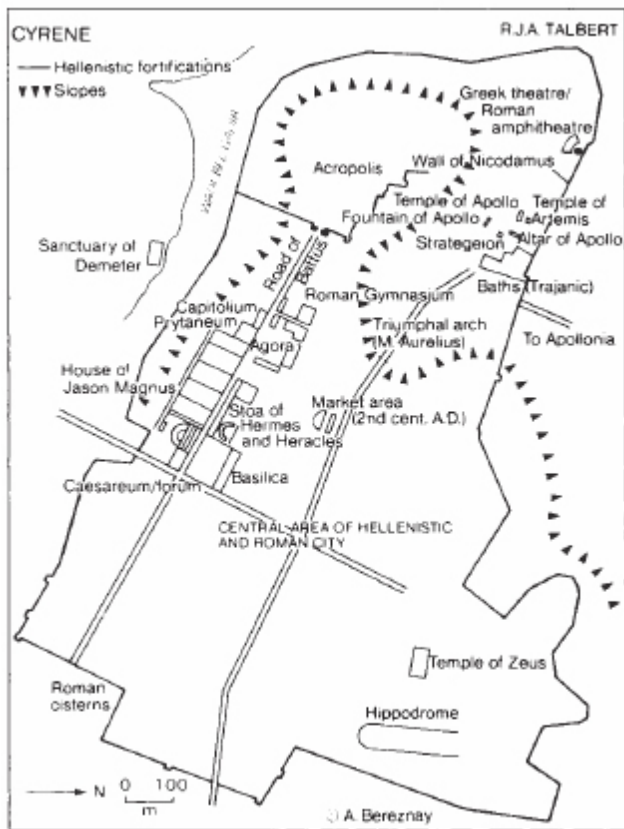
fourth century, and a fortress built at Euryalus. Remains of the fine public buildings erected in Neapolis from the third century survive. Elsewhere modern occupation has limited investigation of the ancient city.





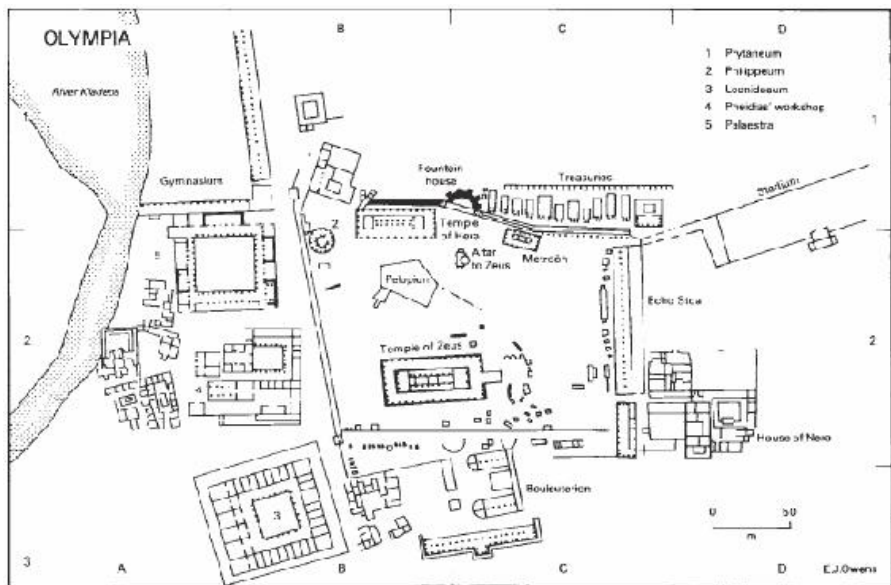
Akragas

Akragas, founded from Gela about 580 according to the tradition, was protected to the north by a long acropolis hill (the centre of the modern town), and to the south by a ridge below which ran the rivers Hypsas and Akragas. Polybius' description (9.27) rightly praises this splendid site. Strong fortification walls linking both natural features were built early to complete the city's defences. The extensive 'Hippodamian' street layout revealed by aerial photography may also date back to the sixth century. As a result of destruction suffered at successive stages in the city's history, the houses in the excavated area are only Hellenistic and Roman, yet are laid out on the original grid. Along the southern ridge was erected a series of temples and other sacred buildings, which testify to the citizens' ostentation and to the remarkable prosperity of their agriculture during the sixth and fifth centuries. The so-called Temple of Concord is notably well preserved thanks to former use as a Christian church.



Cyrene

Cyrene was founded from Thera in the late seventh century. It lies about eight km inland from the north African coast; a road led to its port, Apollonia, 19 km distant. The acropolis, where the original colonists may have settled, remains largely unexplored. A predominantly Roman city is visible today, though it retains the layout developed by Ptolemaic rulers, as well as some remodelled structures of the Hellenistic period. It was then that long fortification walls were built, encircling two hills which rise to 620 m in height, separated by a valley dropping away to the north west. The town of Shahat on the north east hill occupies much of the centre of ancient Cyrene. So excavation has been concentrated upon areas with no modern settlement, the sanctuary of Apollo and the south west hill. Both public buildings and private residences along the Road of Battus between the agora and the forum show the city to have been a flourishing Roman provincial capital. Widespread, fanatical damage in the course of the Jewish revolt of AD 115–17 was made good.



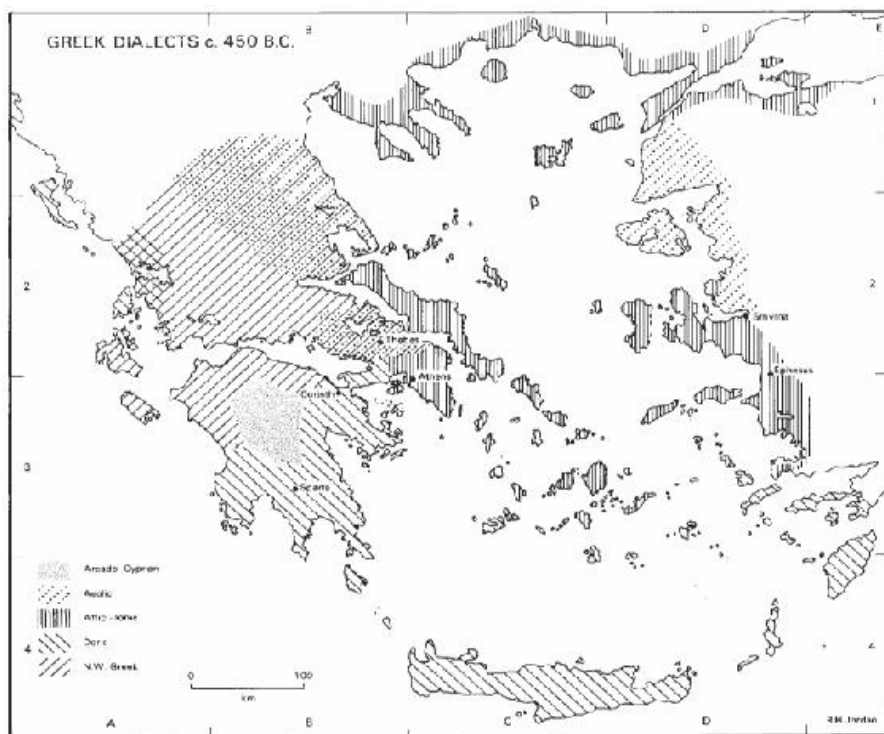
Olympia

The sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, situated in a pleasant, wooded valley close to where the rivers Kladeos and Alphaeus meet, was one of the most famous shrines in Greece. In connection with the four-yearly games celebrated here the sanctuary was embellished by dedications of buildings, sculptures and other monuments.

The precinct itself, the Altis, stood at the foot of Kronos Hill and contained the major religious buildings. On its northern side were situated a temple of Hera with Zeus and a small metroon. The former was originally constructed of mud brick with wooden entablature and columns, although parts were later replaced in stone. The latter, built in the fourth century, honoured Rhea, mother of Zeus. The immense temple to Zeus stood on the southern side. Built c. 460 it housed Pheidias' great chryselephantine statue of the god. Other religious monuments within the precinct were the Philippeum, the circular building west of the Heraeum begun by Philip II of Macedon; the mound covering the supposed tomb of Pelops; and an open-air altar in honour of Zeus.

Since the Altis was the gods' preserve, monuments associated with the administration of the site and the celebration of the games were located outside. To the west were the gymnasium and palaestra, the workshop of Pheidias (identified by tools and a cup bearing his name), priests' accommodation, baths, and the Leonidaion, providing

accommodation for distinguished visitors. To the east, the precinct was flanked by the stadium, which originally encroached upon it, the late fourth-century Echo Stoa (replacing a classical stoa), and the house constructed for Nero's visit. On the northern boundary a series of treasuries was situated, the majority dedicated by Greek cities in southern Italy and Sicily. Next to these Herodes Atticus provided a fountain house, the first at Olympia. The appeal of the sanctuary remained widespread until its enforced closure by Theodosius I at the end of the fourth century AD.



Greek Dialects c. 450 BC

In his *History* (7.57–8), Thucydides surveys the contingents from the various states and islands involved in the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, dividing them into three main groups—Dorian, Ionian and Aeolic. These three groups were living in clearly divided bands along the coast of Asia Minor in the classical period. So it was assumed that this triple division applied to the mainland as well, since the cities of the Asia Minor coast and islands were by tradition founded by cities or communities on the mainland.

In fact the linguistic relationships between the dialects on the mainland are much more complex. The dialect of Arcadia, for example, is closely related to that of Cyprus, suggesting that the island was colonised by speakers of an earlier form of Arcadian. Furthermore, the Greek discovered on the Linear B tablets from Pylos and elsewhere on the mainland is more closely akin to Arcadian than any other classical dialect. This leads to the supposition that a dialect of Greek from which Arcadian and Cyprian developed was at one time spoken over a much wider area in the Peloponnese.

Yet it was two different dialects, North West Greek and Doric, which predominated in the Peloponnese during the classical period, completely surrounding Arcadian. These two are closely related to each other, and North West Greek was spoken in classical times over a very wide area to the north of the Corinthian Gulf. The traditions concerning the Dorians and the speakers of North West Greek in the Peloponnese relate how they travelled to their later homes from the north in various groups, and the evidence of the dialects would seem to support this tradition in broad outline. A few traces of a pre-Doric dialect can be found in the inscriptions of some Doric areas. Thus we may suppose that the remote ancestors of the classical Doric and North West Greek speakers had once lived north of the Corinthian Gulf, perhaps not even along its northern shore, but across the high and wild land dominated by the Pindus mountain range.

The second of Thucydides' groups, the Ionian speakers, could be found in his lifetime in many of the coastal cities and islands round the Aegean. Thucydides states clearly an accepted historical fact of the time, that the Athenians were Ionians: for it was believed that the initial Ionian colonists of Asia Minor had set out from Athens. The evidence of inscriptions bears out the very close linguistic bond between the Attic speakers of Athens and the Ionians. Just how widespread the speakers of Ionic were on the mainland in the period before the arrival of the Dorians is a subject of much debate. Equally the precise relationship between Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian in this early period will almost certainly never be known.

Aeolic, the third of Thucydides' groups, is in many ways the most mysterious. In Asia Minor it formed the most northerly of the three dialect bands, and it is there that the inscriptions show it in its least contaminated form. Linguistic evidence from the two Aeolic areas on the mainland, Boeotia and Thessaly, strongly suggests that there the dialects had been infiltrated by a North West Greek dialect. This is particularly marked in Boeotian; in Thessalian the purer Aeolic is found naturally in the eastern part of the country.

All Greek dialects can be divided on linguistic grounds into two broad divisions usually called East and West Greek. This represents the most fundamental division and seems to have an historical significance, with the East Greek dialects—Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic—representing the Greek spoken in those areas of Greece prominent during the Mycenaean period. In contrast, the dialects of West Greek—Doric and North West Greek— represent those Greek speakers who came to their homes of the classical period after the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdoms.



The Athenian Empire

In 478 certain east Aegean members of the Hellenic League invited Athens to assume effective leadership of military action against Persia. The result was the alliance system commonly known as the Delian League. The name is modern, derived from the location of the treasury and of consultative meetings on Delos; contemporary parlance spoke simply of 'the Athenians and their allies'. Membership involved support of the League's military enterprises by provision of ships, or of money (tribute), in quantities determined by the Athenians. After 454 there were regular reassessments of tribute, theoretically every fourth

year, but occasionally out of sequence (443 instead of 442, 428 and 425 instead of 426). The original membership and relative frequency of one or other type of contribution are obscure (Thucydides' valuation of the 'first tribute' at 460 talents being of uncertain import). However it is certain that choice or compulsion gradually made tribute payment the norm, so that by 431 only Chios and the cities of Lesbos were still furnishing ships (although Samos, which lost its fleet in 440/39, was paying war indemnity rather than tribute). By this time, too, Athenian official parlance was referring to 'the cities over whom the Athenians rule', and it had long been appropriate to speak of an Athenian Empire. Tribute is thus a central characteristic of the empire until its replacement in 413–10 by a 5 per cent import/export levy in the empire's harbours.

In 454 the treasury was moved to Athens, and a 1 2/3 per cent quota taken from tribute receipts for dedication to Athena began to be recorded on stone. The remains of these annual 'tribute lists' and of assessment lists from 425, 422 and (?)410 are the fundamental source for knowledge of the extent of the empire. Some 278 places are recorded as paying tribute at one time or another after 454/3 (32 for the first time in 429 or later); and a further 69 places can be named which were first assessed in 425 or later, but are not *known* to have paid. (The total number of such new assessments was certainly much larger.) For the location of all tribute payers and new assessments of 425 see the maps in R.Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*.

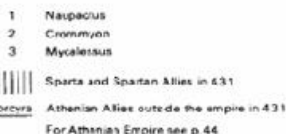
The present map confines itself to states whose actual payments show an assessment of 1 talent or more at some date in the period 454/3 to 429/8, i.e. before pressures of war caused assessments to rise to much higher levels. A few places with lower assessments are also included for other reasons. The five tribute areas in which quotas are arranged in 442/38 (after which I and IV were amalgamated), together with the total number of actual paying states in each area (in brackets), are also shown. The wartime assessments introduced two new areas, *Actaeon Cities* (the region between I and II), and *Euxine* (cities in the Crimea and on the west and south coasts of the Black Sea).

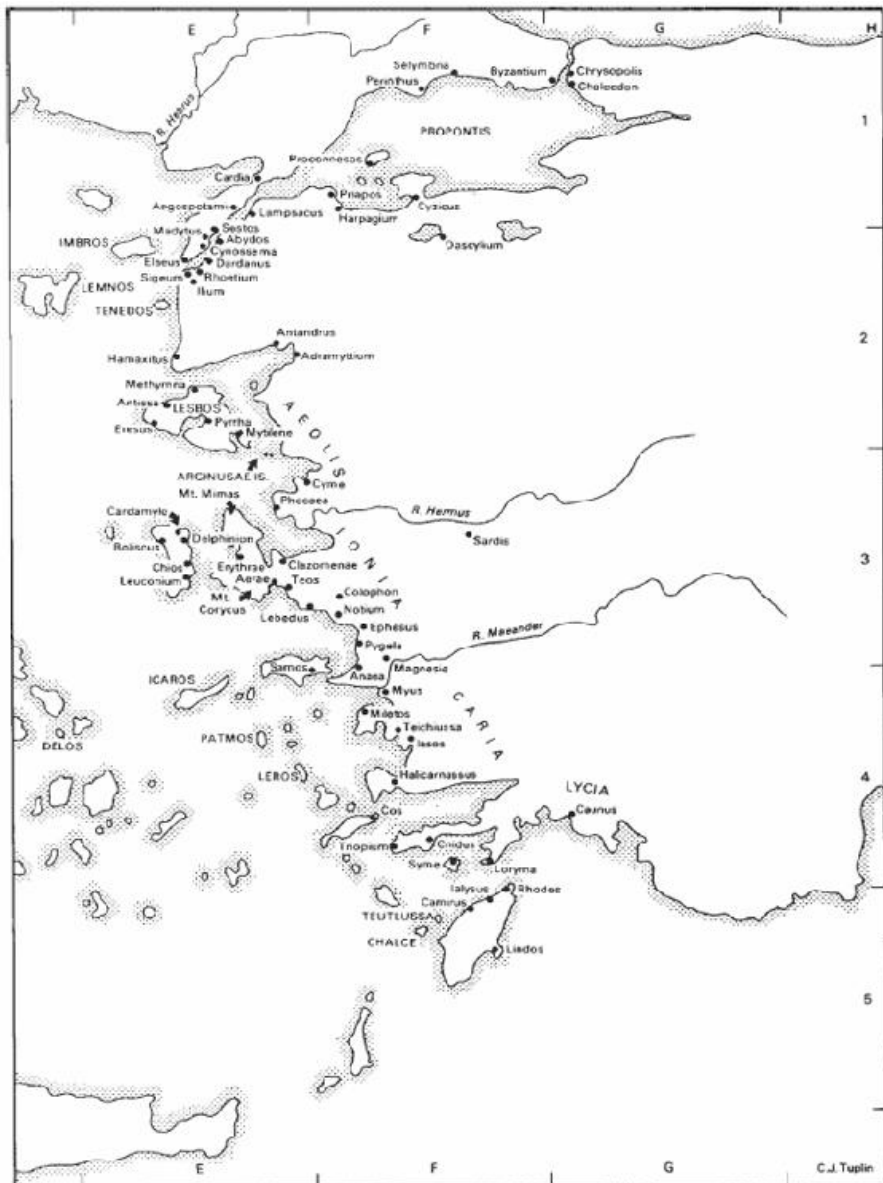
Two other features of the empire are illustrated.

1. Overseas settlement: here we may distinguish Thurii (see p. 84) and Amphipolis, which were indisputably colonies with minority Athenian participation, from the rest, which present problems of categorisation as between 'colony' and 'cleruchy'.
2. Revolt: the map shows places where revolt on one or more occasions is attested in literary sources, or by a conjunction of

documents relating to organisation after revolt with evidence of non-payment in the quota lists. However it excludes cases where the hypothesis of revolt depends solely on the quota lists, e.g. Miletus (447, 445–3); Aegina (447); Cos (446–3); various islands which never appear in 453–50; 21 apparently regular payers in I, II and III which are absent on various occasions in 442–1, 439, 434, 432; some 20 places in III whose absence in 431 and later may be connected with the revolts of Potidaea, Spartolus and Olynthus; and over 25 Carian places absent in 441–39 and not recorded as paying after 443 at the latest.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-404 B.C.





Peloponnesian War, 431–404 BC

The term Peloponnesian War (not actually used in surviving texts until the first century BC) designates the whole period from Sparta's declaration of war in 431—as supposed champion of the autonomy of the Greeks—until Athens' surrender and reduction to the status of a subject Spartan ally in 404. A single map can only 'illustrate' the fighting of this 27-year period by indicating the whereabouts of as

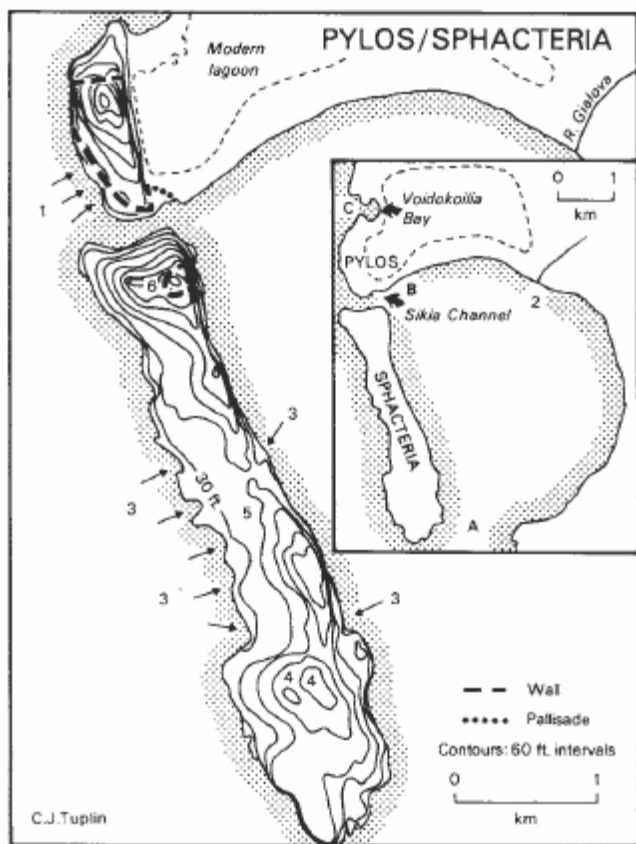
many as possible of the places mentioned in the sources. Three phases can be discerned:

1. (1) 431–21, the ‘Ten Years War’ or ‘Archidamian War’ (an early, though inappropriate, term). During this period there was fighting in various theatres: Attica (regular Spartan invasions until 425); Peloponnese (Athenian maritime raids in 431, 430, 426; the introduction of garrisons in Pylos, Methone, Cythera in 425–4); central Greece (Spartan siege of Plataea, 429–7; Athenian attempts to capture Megara and various parts of Boeotia, 424); north west Greece (429–6) and Corcyra (427–5); ‘Thraceward’ region (431–29; 424–1); Lesbos (428–7); Sicily (427–4).

A major turning point was the Pylos campaign (425). After it, Sparta was not only under greater pressure at home; she had also to abandon invasions of Attica to protect the lives of 120 Spartiates taken prisoner. She was ready to negotiate a year’s truce in 423–2, and a 50-years peace in 421, when Brasidas’ successful encouragement of rebellion among Athens’ Thraceward allies provided something of a position of strength from which to do so. The resultant ‘Peace of Nicias’, accompanied as it was by a defensive alliance, required each side to surrender certain territorial gains (chiefly in the Peloponnese and Thrace) and all prisoners taken. But the territorial requirements were never properly implemented, and the peace was a very tense one from the outset.

2. 421–13, an interlude—lasting until Sparta’s occupation of Decelea in northern Attica—which Thucydides insisted was mostly no better than a ‘suspicious truce’ and therefore really part of the war. There was sporadic fighting in Thrace. Active hostility between Athens and Sparta appears in two main areas: Sicily, where resistance to Athens’ major onslaught against Syracuse came to be directed by the Spartan Gylippus (415–13); Peloponnese, where Athens’ defensive alliance with three anti-Spartan states, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis (420), led to military operations, including some direct action against Sparta or her unequivocal allies—incursions from Pylos (419 onwards); capture of Orchomenus (418) and Orneae (416/15); siege of Epidaurus (418–17); battle of Mantinea (418); maritime attacks on eastern Laconia (414).
3. 413–04, the ‘Decelean War’ (cf. above), or ‘Ionian War’, because it was mostly fought out along the coasts from Byzantium to Rhodes. Both names underline crucial differences from the first

period, when Sparta had not attempted either to *occupy* Attica, or, normally, to encourage or exploit disorder in the eastern Aegean or Black Sea approaches. The latter development was now prompted by over-optimistic expectations after Athens' Sicilian disaster. Another vital new element is Persian co-operation with Sparta. For five years this did not prevent Athenian recovery—in 410–08 especially. Only after the arrival of the Great King's son, Cyrus, in 407 was Persian wealth used effectively, at least whenever Lysander was in office as navarch (407 and 405–4). The change is well illustrated by the contrast between Sparta's hesitant reaction to loss of a fleet at Cyzicus (410), and the immediate replacement of the losses at Arginusae (406) with the ships which destroyed Athenian naval power at Aegospotami (405).



Pylos/Sphacteria

Five stages can be discerned in the events of 425 described by

Thucydides (4.2–6, 8–23, 26–41). (1) The fortification of Pylos (?two stone walls and a palisade), and its occupation by a small Athenian force. (2) The encampment of Spartan land and naval forces around R.Gialova, and the installation of 420 hoplites on Sphacteria. Allegedly the Spartans intended to block the harbour entrances, i.e. either A and B, or B and C. In context Thucydides' words must refer to A/B, but unless the text is emended the reported dimensions of the entrances will only fit B/C. The tactical value of the plan, which was not carried out, is in any case dubious. (3) Two days of unsuccessful seaborne attacks on Pylos [1]. (4) A Spartan naval defeat in the harbour [2]. (5) The Athenian landings on Sphacteria [3]: a first wave disposed of southern outposts [4]; a second forced the main body [5] to retreat to the fort on Mount Elias [6], where it surrendered after some Messenians scaled the western cliffs.

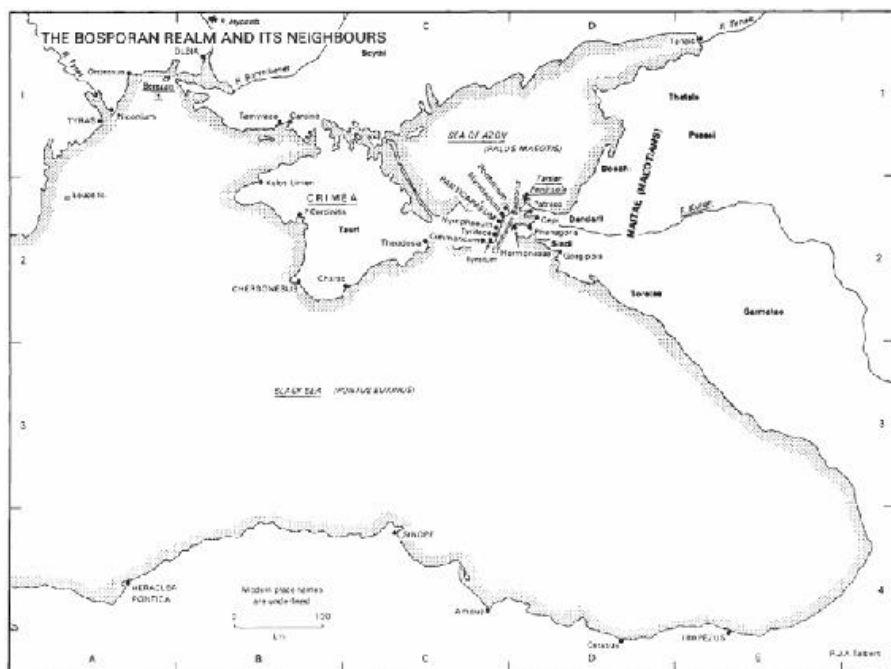
The Bosporan Realm and its Neighbours

By the fifth century Panticapaeum had emerged as the leading Greek settlement on the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Power was seized here c. 480 by Archaeanax. His descendants (of whom nothing is known) were displaced c. 438 by Spartocus, whose family was to maintain its rule in Bosphorus till the late second century. To the west the Spartocids eventually secured control of the major port of Theodosia, even though Heraclea Pontica came to the latter's defence. Eastwards they sought control first of the Taman peninsula, and then gradually of the Maeotian tribes up the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov—objectives brought to completion during the reign of Paerisades II (344–11), when the Bosporan realm reached its zenith.

Various circumstances enabled the Spartocids to maintain their rule for an exceptionally long span by Greek standards. Not only did the family continue to produce suitably strong, long-lived successors over generations. In addition, even though the state was run entirely at their personal whim, they exercised moderation, causing little friction at home, and abroad shunning any reckless expansion such as came to harm many Greek tyrannies. Above all, however, the state was unusually wealthy. Since both rulers and ruled benefited, the poverty and consequent tensions common elsewhere were absent, and there was unanimous recognition that continued prosperity rested upon the maintenance of peace and stability.

Bosporan wealth derived principally from fish (herring, sturgeon,

tunny), vines, and above all, corn. The latter was both grown locally, and brought from the plains of south Russia for export all over the Greek world. Well into the third century at least, Bosphorus was the largest single supplier of corn to mainland Greece, especially to Athens, whose merchants enjoyed preferential treatment during the late fifth and fourth centuries. Wine was also made, and fish salted, on a significant scale, as shown by excavation of wine-making establishments and pickling vats, notably at Tyritace and Myrmecium.



Trade in the Classical Greek World

The pattern of Greek trading in and around the Mediterranean was largely determined by the need to secure certain basic supplies—foodstuffs, timber, and metals above all. Some overseas settlements were primarily commercial in aim—Pithecussae and Sinope for iron, for example, Al Mina for north Syrian metal ores, Massilia at the end of an overland river-route for tin from the north. The Pontic settlements, major sources of fish and grain, are termed *emporía* by Herodotus. Settlements with a more generally commercial purpose were Gravisca in Etruria and Naucratis in the Nile Delta.

Except for certain basic metals, however, trade was a marginal activity for the Greek world. The climatic homogeneity of much of the

Mediterranean meant that most agricultural products could be obtained locally everywhere. So only regional wines of high quality, for instance, were worth exporting. Those of Thasos, Chios, and Lesbos had the highest reputation; Massilia sold its local product to enthusiastic Gauls who did not cultivate the vine. Athens and Egypt, too, seem to have been major customers for fine wine. Specialities exported by them in return were olive oil and fine pottery from Athens, grain, linen and papyrus from Egypt.

Corn was the principal exception to local availability. Most mainland and Aegean states imported some grain. South Italy, Sicily and Egypt supplied the Peloponnese. By the mid-fifth century Athens was heavily dependent on imported corn, obtained mainly from Thrace and south Russia.

Manufacture was on a small scale, and also mainly for local consumption. Individual traders travelled from port to port, buying and selling piecemeal. Pottery provides most of the evidence. Graffiti on Athenian pottery give some indications of traders to the west placing 'bulk' orders, but with the exception of the workshop of Nikosthenes there is not yet evidence of work being produced to specification to meet the taste of a particular market. Current research indicates that in the late fifth and fourth centuries Attic black glaze pottery was carried by Phoenician traders to much of the south and east Mediterranean.

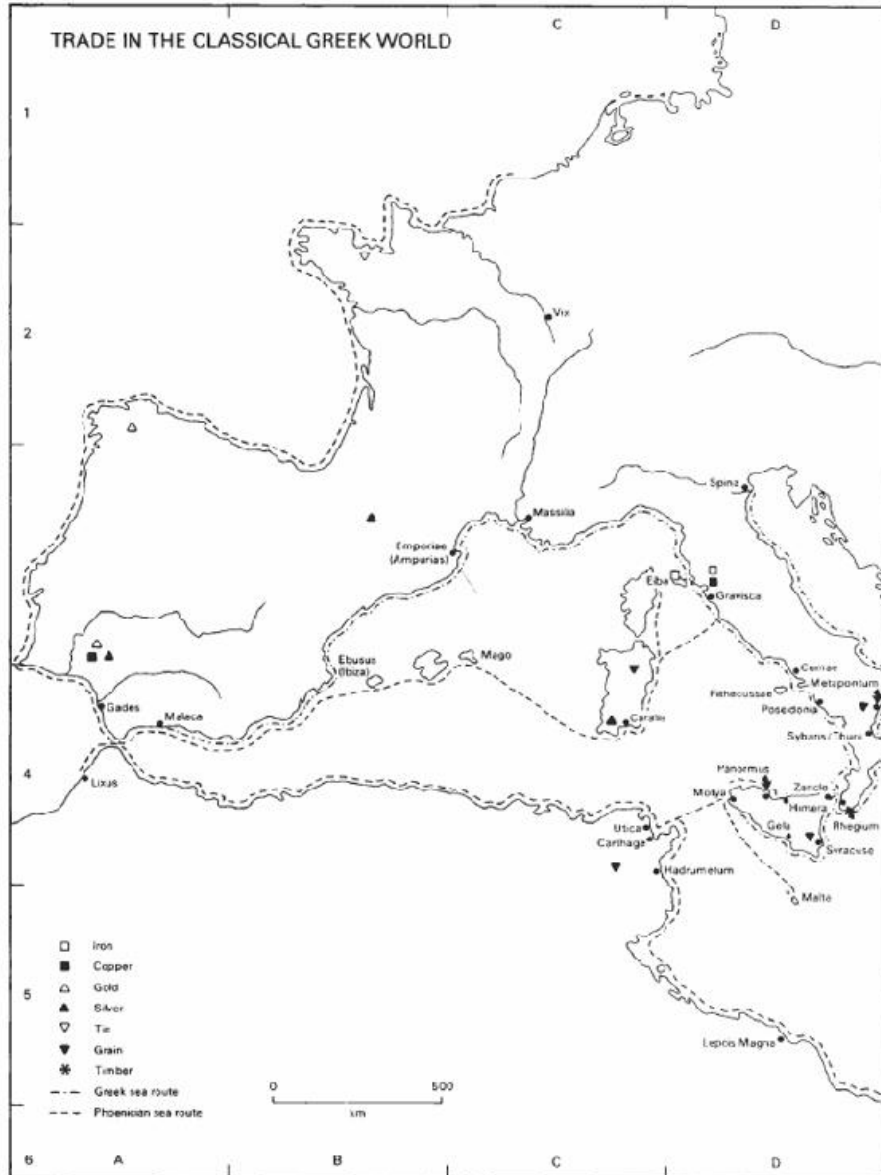
In general, long voyages across the open sea were avoided. Some towns, like the Adriatic settlements, therefore became important as stepping stones, others because they commanded straits like the Bosphorus, or lay on an isthmus. Corinth is the prime example of the latter type, though Athens also brought in goods by way of Euboea as well as Piraeus. Towns at or near river mouths—Massilia, Spina, Istrus, Olbia—traded up the rivers with their hinterland.

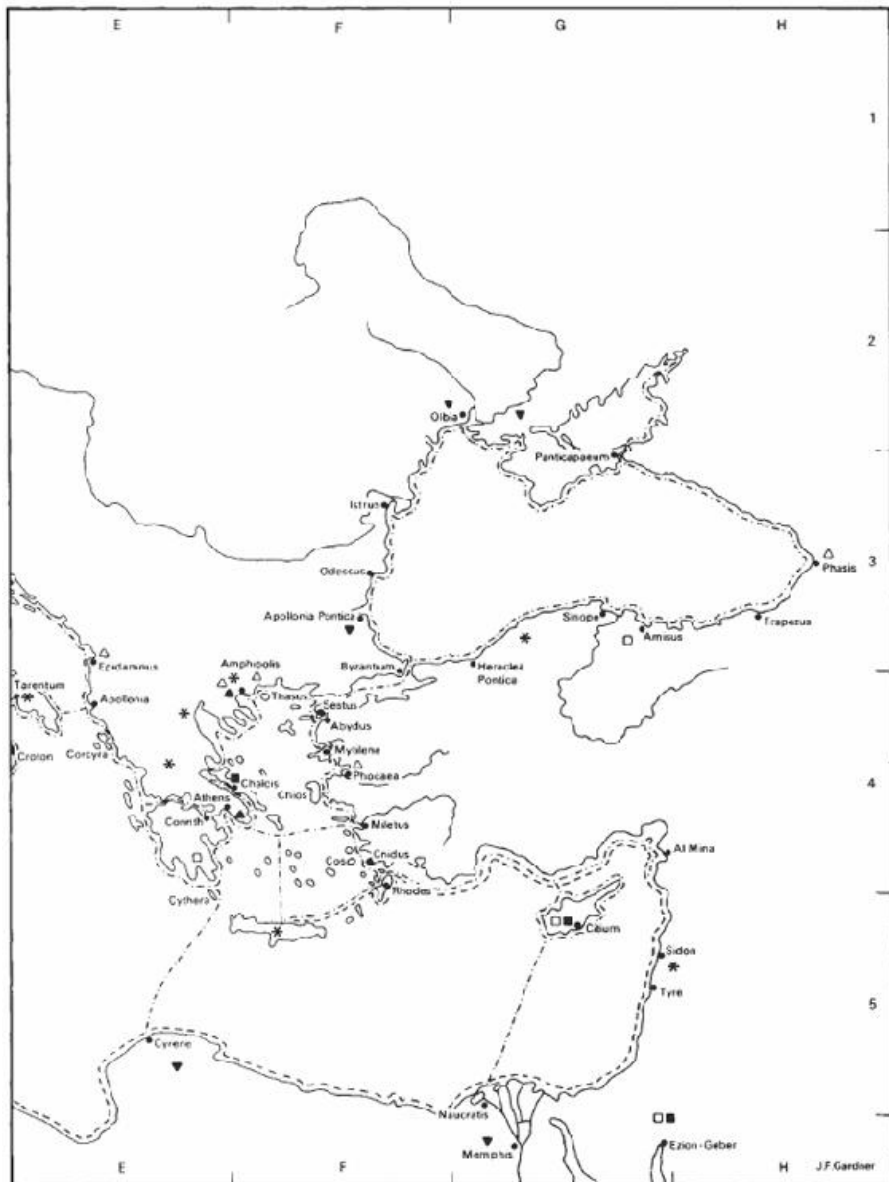
So far as any one Greek city was concerned, much of its trade might be in the hands of non-citizens, either resident (metics), or in passage. Instances of state intervention to control production or trade are few, and confined to staple products. The Attic silver mines were state owned, but leased to private concessionaires. In the early fourth century the towns of Ceos legislated to confine the export of *milto*s (red ochre) to vessels designated by Athens. The Thasians regulated the wholesale purchase and retail sale of their wines, but were evidently able to ban only Thasian vessels from importing foreign wines to the neighbouring mainland. In the fifth century Athens was sufficiently powerful to compel corn ships from the Black Sea to

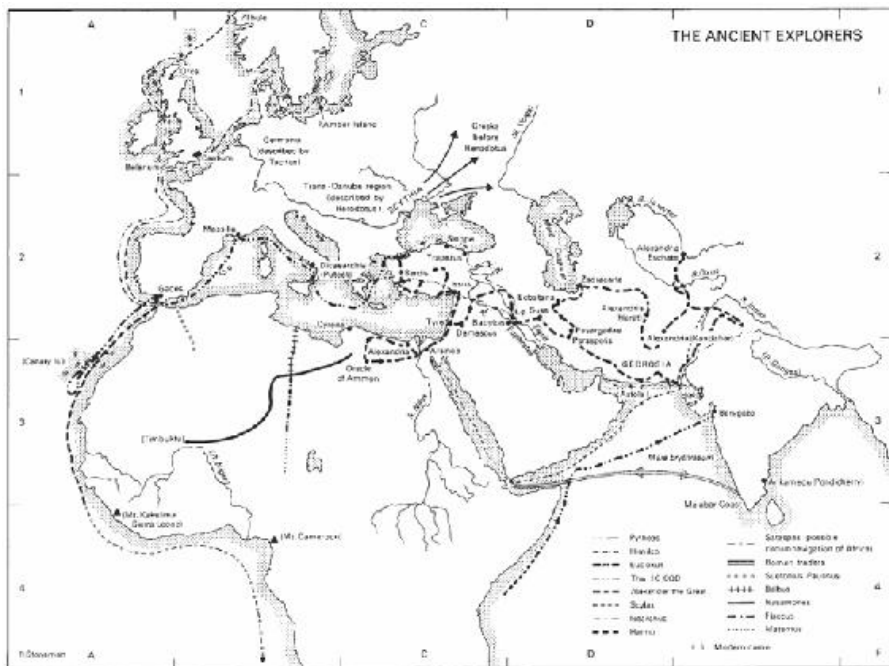
unload at Piraeus, and to limit the quantity re-exported; other states could import corn from Byzantium only on licence from Athens. In the fourth century by contrast, while restrictions were imposed on corn dealing in Attica, imports could only be encouraged indirectly, either by regulations on loans for mercantile ventures, or by offering incentives both to shippers and to foreign rulers able to control exports from their own territories.

Apart from the Greeks, Phoenicians were the main traders, covering the southern Mediterranean especially. From early in the fifth century the Phoenician settlement at Carthage virtually monopolised trade with Sardinia, western Sicily, southern Spain, and much of north Africa; it also controlled the Atlantic tin route.

TRADE IN THE CLASSICAL GREEK WORLD







The Ancient Explorers

From early times Greeks were acquainted with, or at the least aware of, their neighbours to the east and north east. Voyages to these regions—presumably for trading—are reflected in the legend of the Argonauts, in the exploits attributed to Aristaeus of Proconnesus, and in the mythical wanderings of Io recounted in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*. Her route takes in Scythians, Chalybes and Amazons to the north; next the Caucasus, Cimmerii and the Bosphorus; then Asia, haunt of the fabulous Graeae, the mute hounds of Zeus, and the one-eyed Arimaspians. Thereafter she turns south to the Aethiopes and the R.Nile.

In the fifth century Herodotus made extensive researches on Egypt, Scythia, the Persian empire, and India, some of them by personal observation. His only Greek predecessor was Scylax of Caryanda, who in a voyage of coastal exploration undertaken c. 510 for the Great King Darius set off from near Attock on the R.Indus and sailed as far as Arsinoe. Before Scylax, two Carthaginians, Himilco (c. 525) and Hanno (c. 500), had sailed respectively to right and left out of the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar). Himilco reached Brittany, but probably did not go as far as Britain. From the account in Polybius it would seem that Hanno reached Sierra Leone, or possibly even

Cameroon. This is further than any other traveller before the Middle Ages, unless the report in Herodotus be accepted of a circumnavigation of Africa by a Persian named Sataspes during the reign of Xerxes (486–65).

It is appropriate to mention here the March of the Ten Thousand led by Cyrus the Younger, which forms the subject of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (see p. 58). His march seems to have been emulated in part by Alexander the Great, who crossed the Hellespont in 334 to begin his remarkable campaign of conquest of the Persian empire (see pp. 64–5). Alexander's expedition included a geographer and other scientific staff, and aimed to record scientific information as well as to make conquests. In 329 he passed the 'Caspian Gates' and entered hitherto unexplored territory. He was in central Asia and northern India until 326. His admiral Nearchus was despatched down the R. Indus to seek a sea route back to Persia, while Alexander led his army through the burning Gedrosian desert of south Iran, finally reaching Susa in 324.

The British Isles were visited c. 310 by Pytheas, a captain from Massilia, who sailed north out of the Pillars of Hercules. Though he is mentioned by Dicaearchus and Strabo, most of our information comes from Diodorus and Pliny. Besides apparently circumnavigating Britain he sailed into the North Sea, reporting a condition where sea and air merge in a kind of jelly (a thick fog plus floating ice?). His tantalising island, Ultima Thule, has been variously identified as Iceland or part of the Norwegian coast.

In the late first century BC Eudoxus of Cyzicus made two voyages to India, on the second of which he was blown down the African coastline. According to Strabo, this experience prompted him to try the circumnavigation the other way. Here he was driven aground by the north east trade wind and turned back; but after reaching the Canary Islands the expedition was lost, from causes unknown.

Several ancient explorers penetrated the Sahara desert. Herodotus records one journey through it by five men of the Berber tribe of the Nasamones. But this lead was hardly followed until Roman times. Then, in 19 BC, Cornelius Balbus, proconsul of Africa, explored south into the desert. In the late first century AD another proconsul, Septimius Flaccus, made a three-month march inland, while Julius Maternus at some unknown date extended the route to the Sudan. In AD 42 Suetonius Paulinus crossed the Atlas. But in general Romans were not prompted by such scientific curiosity as Greeks. Much ancient geo-graphical knowledge is diluted and distorted in mediaeval travellers' tales, until the fashion for pilgrimage again opened distant

lands as objects of interest, this time to north west Europeans.



Archaeological Sites of Greece

In the latter part of the nineteenth century Heinrich Schliemann's interest in Homer, and his desire to uncover Priam's Troy, laid the foundation for modern archaeology in the Aegean. His excavations at Hissarlik generated interest which led to the discovery of other great prehistoric sites. Archaeology has since come to illuminate all aspects of ancient Greek history and culture. Thus, even when written records are available, archaeology can supplement and complement their evidence, or indeed provide primary information, if the documents are deficient.

Because of the abundance of archaeological evidence, and the fact that almost every place in Greece can be regarded as an archaeological site, the choices for this map are difficult to make. Its aim is twofold: first, to indicate the most important and impressive sites and monuments of the Aegean; second, to show where the most significant contributions to our understanding of ancient Greece have been made.

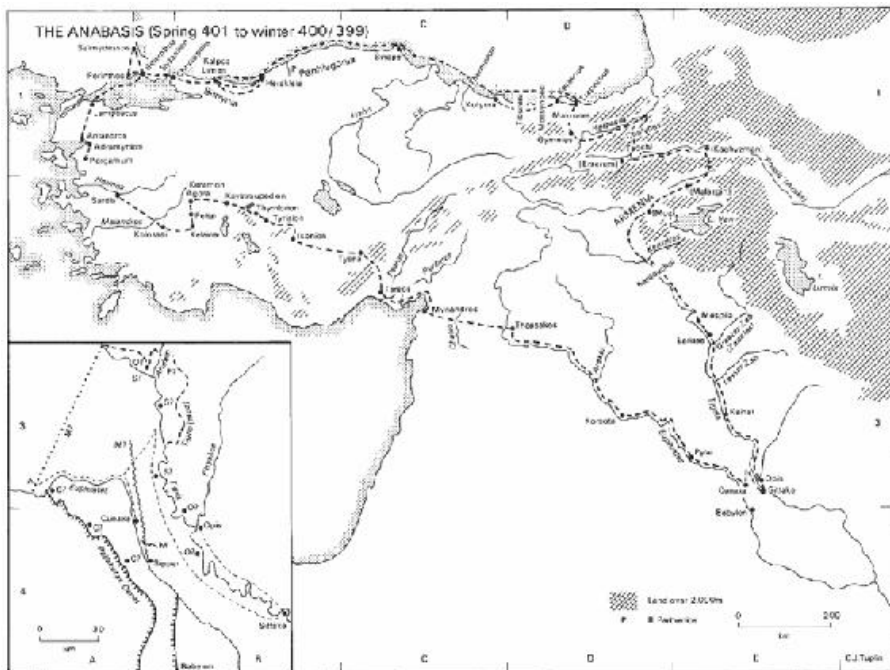
Four broad categories of site may be identified. First, those places

which have immensely furthered our knowledge, most notably perhaps of architecture—among them, Athens (inhabited from Neolithic times); the great sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi and Dodona; and the cities of Delos and Miletus. Although the most impressive remains from the latter two date to Hellenistic and Roman times, their archaeological importance extends beyond their standing monuments.

Second, sites which illustrate the major historical periods of Greece from the Bronze Age to the Roman era. Among Bronze Age sites are not only great palaces, but also the important towns of Dimini, Poliochni and Akrotiri, the impressive villa of Aghia Triada, the cemetery of Perati, and the fort at Teichos Dymaion. Iron Age sites include the incipient *polis* of Emborio on Chios; Old Smyrna, where fortifications have been found; and Lefkandi, the excavation of which is substantially changing the present picture of the Dark Age. The sites of the classical to Roman periods mostly illustrate cities or aspects of their architecture. Thus Thorikos is a fine example of an industrial town of the classical period. Olynthus reveals the nature of a residential district of a regularly planned town, while Priene (see further p. 37) illustrates not only a medium-sized Hellenistic city, but also the application of a grid plan to a steeply sloping location. Substantial fifth-century houses have come to light at Dystus. Roman towns and monuments are represented by the sites of Philippi and Ephesus.

Third, specific monuments. For example, the pleasantly situated temple at Nemea; the fortifications of Aegosthena; the remains of the *diolkos* at the isthmus of Corinth, along which ships were dragged to avoid the long and hazardous journey around the Peloponnese; the water installations at Perachora; the oracular shrine at Claros; the temple to Artemis at Brauron, where wooden artefacts have come to light; the recently discovered tomb of Philip II of Macedon at Aegae; and the ancient marble quarries on Paros.

Fourth, sites where important or unusual finds have been made. A substantial number of fourth-century terracotta figurines were found in graves at Tanagra. A complete set of Bronze Age armour came to light at Dendra in the Argolid. The restored pediment of the archaic temple of Artemis is housed in the Corfu museum. On Naxos a colossal, unfinished statue of the seventh century, still attached to the living rock by its back, shows the method by which large sculpture was produced. Two gold cups, fashioned by Cretan smiths and decorated with complementary narrative scenes, were discovered at Vaphio.



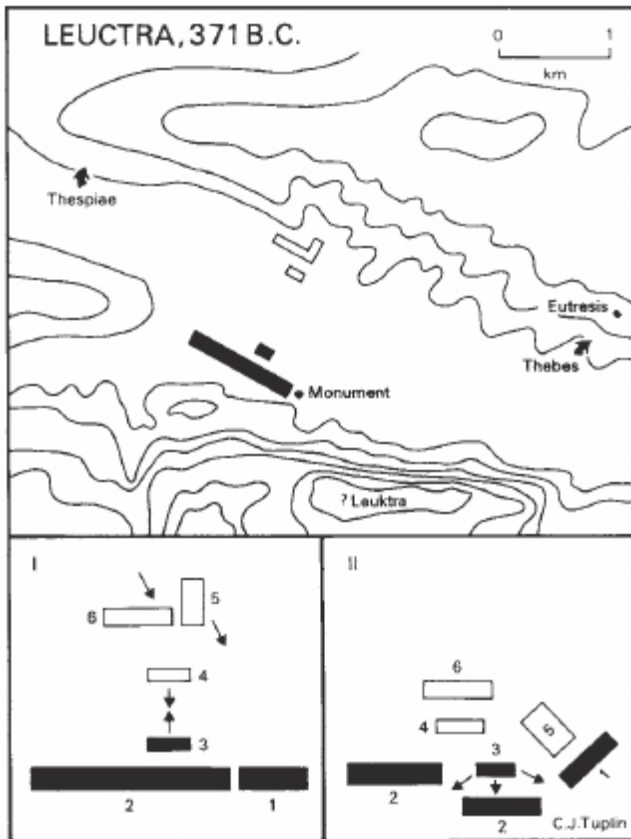
The Anabasis

The map shows the routes taken by Cyrus' rebel army from Sardis to Cunaxa, where it was defeated by Artaxerxes; by the Greek and non-Greek remnants, marching separately, from Cunaxa to the R. Zab, where the Greek generals were treacherously murdered by Tissaphernes; and by the Greeks from the R.Zab to Byzantium, eastern Thrace and Aeolis. There are two problematic sections.

1. *Cunaxa to Opis*. The Greeks marched north/ north east for three days, stopped for over three weeks negotiating with the Persians and vainly waiting for Tissaphernes to escort them back to the Aegean, then marched to the Median Wall in three days, to the R.Tigris at Sittake in another two days, and up its east bank to the R.Physkos and Opis in a further four days. The location of all the named points is controversial: some have even suggested that Xenophon carelessly interchanged Opis and Sittake! The inset illustrates Barnett's solution: Cunaxa = Nuseffiat, Median Wall = Nebuchadnezzar's Opis-Sippar fortifications (partly preserved between Sippar and Nuseffiat), Sittake = Humaniye (near Azizye), R.Physkos and Opis = R.Diyala and a site at its junction with the Tigris. Other suggestions are shown for comparison as C?, M?, S?, P?, O?. A represents 'Artaxerxes'

Ditch', part of a northern fortification line between the rivers, crossed two days before the battle.

2. *Mespila (Nineveh)-Trapezus*, a march of three-and-a-half months, the course of which depends on deciding where the Greeks crossed or marched along the rivers Kentrites, Teleboas, Euphrates, 'Phasis' (i.e. Araks) and Harpasos. There is nothing in the sources to help except the record of distances (in days and *parasangs*, rather inexact measurements), general descriptions of terrain, and a scatter of tribal names, valueless in themselves. The solution shown is that of Lehmann-Haupt. Most others are generally similar: they tend to reduce or eliminate the detour to Malazgirt and Kaghyzman, but the final section from the upper Harpasos is common to all. The only radical alternative would be a route following a wide westerly arc from Mus to Gymnias.



Leuctra, 371 BC

The approximate location is established by the Theban battle

monument. Combination of the individually incomplete ancient accounts of the battle reveals three key points:

- a. The Spartan cavalry [3] was placed opposite the enemy's initial position and therefore (contrary to normal practice) in front of the infantry, part of which it fouled and put out of action when easily defeated by the Boeotian cavalry [4] (Phase I).
- b. The Spartan King Cleombrotus attempted to counter a diagonal Boeotian advance by swinging his right wing forward, but could not complete the move before the arrival of the Thebans, spearheaded by the Sacred Band (front left).
- c. The 50-deep Theban hoplite contingent [5] crushed the isolated Lacedaemonians [1] (especially the Spartiate entourage of Cleombrotus), while the other Boeotians [6] and the Peloponnesians [2] remained unengaged (Phase II, actually almost simultaneous with Phase I).

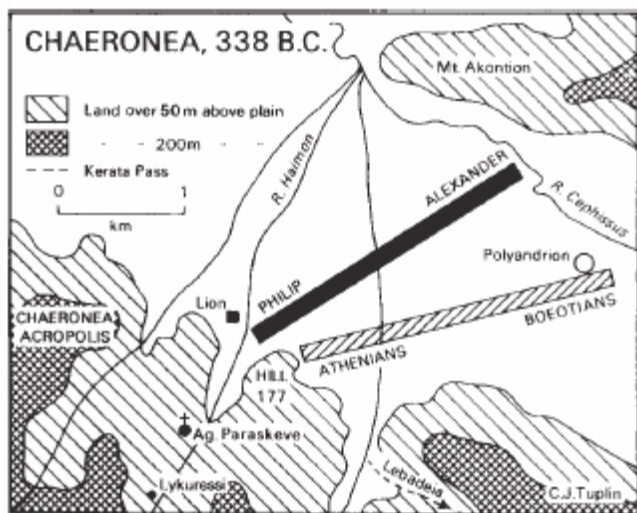


The Second Athenian League

In 378/7, exactly 100 years after the founding of the Delian League, the Second Athenian League was founded. We possess its prospectus, a decree of the Athenian assembly which states defence of the freedom of Greek and barbarian states against Spartan imperialism as the

League's purpose; all states outside Persia's domains are invited to join on stated terms, designed to protect members against the encroachments on their freedom which Athens had practised in the Delian League. Appended to the decree is a list of members, to which additions were made on various occasions between 377 and c. 375, but not thereafter.

The League was never as large or as prosperous as the Delian League, but fear of Sparta, and Athens' promises of good behaviour, won it widespread support in the 370s, mostly among former members of the Delian League. However, at the battle of Leuctra in 371 Sparta was decisively beaten by Thebes, and the threat of Spartan imperialism was destroyed. In the 360s Athens turned to supporting Sparta against Thebes; the cities of Euboea left the League with Thebes. In the Aegean Athens began making conquests and planting settlements, and broke some of the promises made at the League's foundation. Some members, especially in the south east Aegean, left the League as a result of the Social War of 356–5, but certain former members rejoined when they felt threatened by the growing power of Philip of Macedon. After his victory over Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea in 338, Philip organised the mainland Greeks in the League of Corinth, and the Second Athenian League ceased to exist.



Chaeronea, 338 BC

The relative positions of Athenian and Boeotian hoplites, Philip and Alexander are clear, and an eastern limit for the battlefield is provided by the Macedonian *polyandria* and the Greeks' withdrawal to

Lebadeia. The identity of the 254 skeletons under the Lion monument is too uncertain for them to help topographically; but the R. Haimon, near which some of the Greeks camped, must be west of Hill 177, which favours location of the Greek left near that hill rather than at the end of the Lebadeia road. Both Macedonian wings routed the enemy, with Alexander achieving the first breakthrough. However a more precise picture depends on whether he was leading the Companion Cavalry, and whether Polyaeus is reliable in his report of a deliberate retreat by the Macedonian right, which tempted the Athenians into disastrous pursuit. These problems are linked, for if Alexander led a cavalry charge (the normal view), Polyaeus must be used to explain why there was a gap in the Greek line for him to attack.



The Growth of Macedonian Power, 359–336 BC

The growth of Macedonian power involves two distinct phenomena.

1. *The extension of the Macedonian Kingdom proper.* This was achieved partly by the imposition of unprecedentedly firm control on the Upper Macedonian cantons, and partly by actual annexation of adjacent non-Macedonian territory. The scale of

such annexations is debatable. The map registers the acquisition of the region up to Lake Ochrid (358), Pydna (357), the Strymon-Nestos area (356), Methone (354), Perrhaebia (352), and Parauaea (?351). Some would add Paeonia (356), and all of Chalcidice (348). The alternative view is that Paeonia simply became a vassal principality and that, although the land of Potidaea and Olynthus (cities destroyed in 356 and 348) was occupied by Macedonians, the surviving cities of Chalcidice became Philip's allies. At least one Macedonian cavalry squadron was named after a Chalcidian town— Apollonia.

2. *The acquisition of effective control in areas outside the Kingdom.*

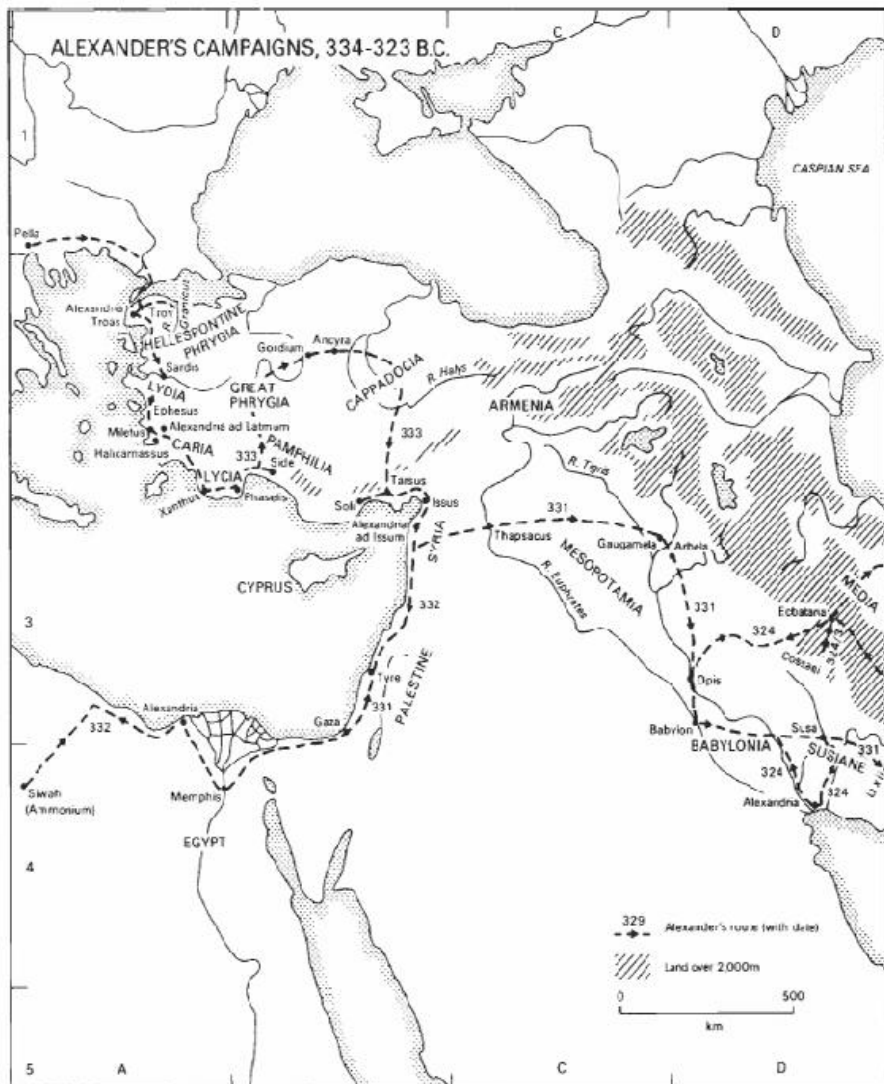
Here three phenomena may be distinguished.

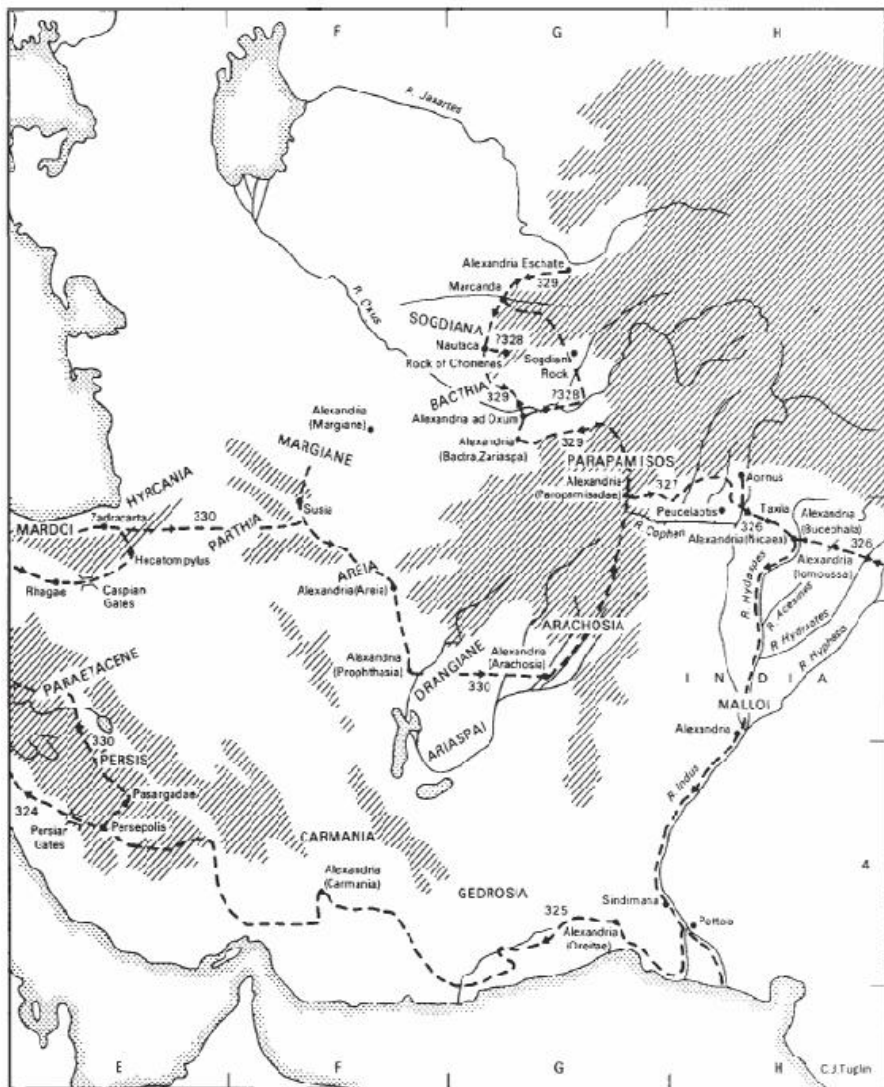
- i. The imposition of vassal status on tribal areas: Paeonians (356: see above); Dardanians (345); Odrysian Thracians under Cetriporis (towards R.Nestos: 356), Amadocus (between R. Nestos and R.Hebros: 352), and Cersobleptes (beyond R.Hebros: 352); the Molossian kingdom (c. 351–43/2: it is not clear what implications Molossian vassaldom had for the kingdom's allies among the Chaonians and Thesprotians); (?)Getae under Cothelas (c. 341); Scythians under Atheas (340). It is unlikely that the Agrianes were vassals, and the evidence that some or all of the Grabaei, Autariatae and Ardiaei were in that category is weaker than sometimes suggested. The Talauntii certainly were not vassals. The situation in Thrace after 342/1 is uncertain: some believe that a tribute-paying province stretching north to the Balkan Mountains (Haemus) was established under a Macedonian *strategos* (an office first attested under Alexander).
- ii. Thessaly: Philip's suppression of Pherae in 352 was followed by his acclamation as *archon* of the Thessalian League, an extraordinary position for a Macedonian king, in virtue of which he could receive taxes, command military support, and generally control the cities as he saw fit; after 344 the ancient office of tetrarch was revived to assist the process. The status of the *perioecis* (areas theoretically dependent on individual cities) is debatable: Perrhaebia and Magnesia were annexed in 352, but it is not clear whether the non-annexed areas (including Magnesia after 346) were subject to Philip as *archon* directly, or via the cities.
- iii. Other Greek states: Philip's alliances with several states between 359 and 338 may in varying degrees be construed as expressions of his growing power, and the

same goes for his more or less open interferences in the politics of Euboea, Megara and the Peloponnese after 346, and his addition of certain small Greek towns to the Molossian kingdom in 343/2. But the chief expression and instrument of hegemony is the Corinthian League of 338, an organisation which involved assertions of Greek autonomy (but also the outlawing of socio-economic revolution); freedom from tribute and garrisons (except in Ambracia, Corinth and Thebes); the right of deliberation in League synods (albeit occasional and carefully orchestrated); and the obligation to provide military support for the projected Persian expedition. In default of appreciable precise evidence, the League must be presumed to have included all mainland and Aegean Greek states which were neither part of Macedonia nor in Persian hands; the only known exception is Sparta.

It should be stressed that, notwithstanding the erection of a farflung Macedonian *Reich*, the fundamental fact of Macedonian power remained the military potential of Macedonia itself, and the chief development here was the creation of a well-disciplined infantry force. In this context the use of population transfers to alter settlement patterns and create the appropriate human raw material was vital, but the general references in the sources do not permit any precise description of the process.

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS, 334-323 B.C.





Alexander's Campaigns, 334–23 BC

The map illustrates Alexander's movements between the departure from Pella in 334 and his death at Babylon in 323. The general picture of his progress is not in doubt—334–1: Asia Minor, Levant; 331–30: Mesopotamia, Iran, Afghanistan; 329–7: Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia; 327–5: Pakistan, India; 325–3: Iran, Mesopotamia. However lack of precise ancient evidence, conflict between different sources, and differences of opinion about logistical probabilities can render exact identification of the routes followed controversial. Sections where even a small scale map must reflect a disputed interpretation include

Ancyra-Tarsus; Tyre-Thapsacus (the site of the latter is a notorious crux); Ecbatana-Rhagae; Zadracarta-Alexandria in Areia (= Herat); Herat-Alexandria in Arachosia (= Kandahar); movements either side of the R.Oxus in 328 (in particular, did Alexander actually visit Alexandria in Margiane (= Merv)?; Pattala-Alexandria in Carmania.

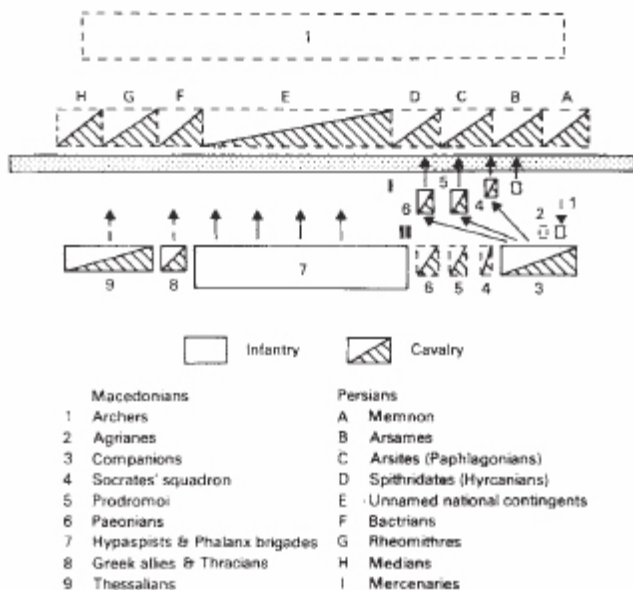
The campaigns fall into four periods.

1. The war against Darius, ending in 330 with the latter's murder as he fled east from Rhagae. Though Alexander had claimed the Persian throne in 332, and had been hailed as 'King of Asia' by his army after Gaugamela, with Darius' opportune death such claims became a reality; further fighting would be against usurpers—like Darius' killer Bessus, who adopted the upright tiara of an Achaemenid king—and against recalcitrant 'subjects'. The reduction of Darius to the level of an expendable fugitive was principally achieved by three set-piece battles: at the R.Granicus (334: the attempt by Asia Minor forces to contain the invader); Issus (333: Darius' first personal appearance, and a defeat even though he first out-manoeuvred Alexander strategically); and Gaugamela (331: the defeat which exposed the empire's Mesopotamian and Iranian heartland). The delay between Issus and Gaugamela, which gave Darius another chance, was due to the time expended on the sieges of Tyre (p. 68) and Gaza, and the occupation of Egypt—diversions necessitated by Alexander's strategy of neutralising the Persian navy by control of its bases.
2. In 330–27 Alexander slowly asserted control in the eastern satrapies against resistance from Satibarzanes, his own appointee as satrap of Areia; Bessus, satrap of Bactria and would-be Great King; and Spitamenes, leader of a rebellion in initially submissive Sogdiana. This occupied Alexander's attention for 18 months of hard and ill-documented campaigning in alternately mountainous and desert terrain. His successes in this period disposed of all concerted Iranian nationalist opposition to the foreign King of Kings. The next time there was trouble in Bactria, in 325, it came from discontented Greek mercenaries who disliked being settled in such an un-Greek environment.
3. In 327 Alexander crossed into India (mostly staying within Pakistan in modern terms), capturing the apparently impregnable Aornus rock (Pir-Sar) early on, and then eliminating the resistance of King Poros at the R.Hydaspes (p. 69). Further advance eastwards stopped at the R. Hyphasis, when the army refused to endorse a decision to make for the

R.Ganges. Instead Alexander set off down the R.Indus to subdue the tribes of its middle and lower reaches, which he did with considerable bloodletting. Return to the empire's centre along the coasts of Baluchistan and Iran became impossible when monsoons delayed the fleet, so Alexander had to cross the Gedrosian desert, losing up to three-quarters of his army to hunger and thirst in the process.

4. 324–3 saw him back in Babylonia, and largely inactive militarily, except for a winter campaign against the Cossaei, and the preparations for an expedition to Arabia which his death forestalled.

RIVER GRANICUS, 334 B.C.



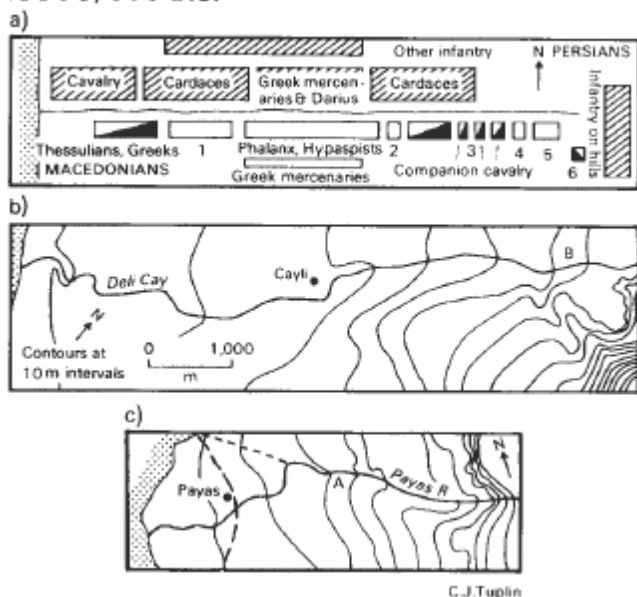
C.J.Tuplin

River Granicus, 334 BC

There is fundamental conflict between the main accounts. In Arrian Alexander fights his way across the river against Persian cavalry ranged on the east bank, while in Diodorus he makes an unopposed dawn crossing and fights a 'normal' engagement in the plain east of the river. Arrian's somewhat more circumstantial account is perhaps the lesser of two evils, though Diodorus supplies the Persian dispositions. There are two phases: first, the crossing, with two cavalry attacks on the Macedonian right, the second co-ordinated with

infantry advance; second, the annihilation of the Persians' Greek mercenaries in the plain (not shown). The limited extent of the areas where crossing was unimpeded by either high banks or trees, or both, may explain Alexander's 'oblique' line of attack and his ultimate success (the very localised fighting neutralising Persian numerical advantage). But the process can only be represented schematically, since precise topographical information is lacking; possibly it is no longer even obtainable, as the river may have shifted course.

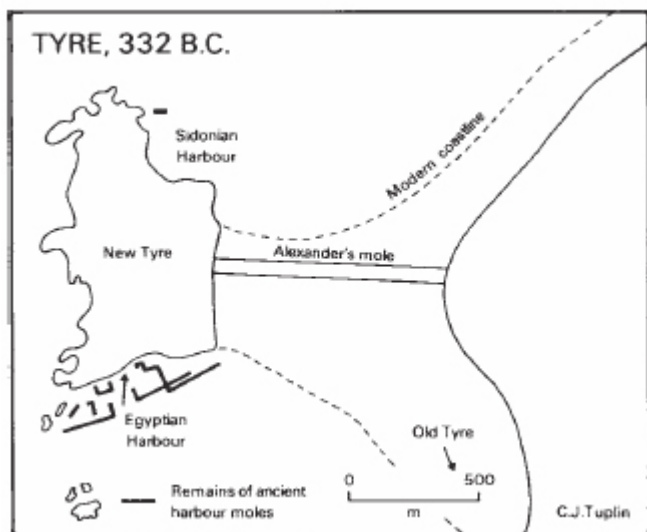
ISSUS, 333 B.C.



Issus, 333 BC

(a) represents schematically one interpretation of the final pre-battle dispositions recorded in Arrian. [1: Thracian javelineers; Cretan archers; 2: archers; 3: *prodromoi*, Paeonians; 4: archers, Agrianians; 5: Greek mercenaries; 6: small cavalry unit.] The Macedonian centre/right routed the enemy—the first breakthrough being led by Alexander against the Cardaces—while the left checked the Persian cavalry. Detailed reconstruction is difficult, not least as regards the initial Macedonian attack. A crucial problem here is the identification of the R. Pinarus. It seems most likely to have been either the Deli Cay (30 km north of Iskenderun), or the Payas (20 km north), where coastline and riverbed may have changed: see broken lines in (c). The Payas fits various reported distances less badly, but steep banks above

A preclude the initial Macedonian cavalry charge implied by the sources—and indeed *any* orderly cavalry advance. So either the battle occurred on the Deli (between B and the sea), or infantry brigades opened the attack.

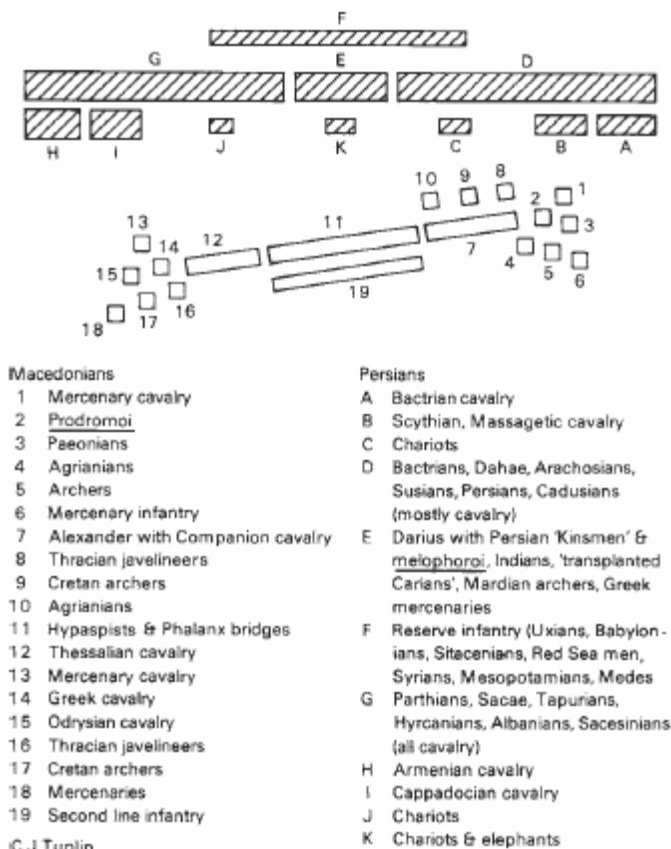


Tyre, 332 BC

The sources are only in broad agreement, and none provides enough incident for a siege of seven months. Initial Macedonian attempts to provide a platform for siege engines by constructing a mole encountered the insuperable difficulty of protecting the workmen against Tyrian attacks from the walls and from ships. Alexander's acquisition of 224 ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, Cilicia and Lycia was crucial. The Tyrian fleet was then confined to harbour; a small sortie from the north, Sidonian, harbour failed. The mole was completed—though in the event its role was largely diversionary—and a successful assault was mounted. Two ship-borne engines inflicted sufficient damage for an assault party under Alexander to seize a stretch of wall (?adjacent to the south harbour), while the fleet broke into the harbours. However the puzzle of why this attack succeeded when others had failed is never properly solved by any source.

Gaugamela, 331 BC

GAUGAMELA, 331 B.C.

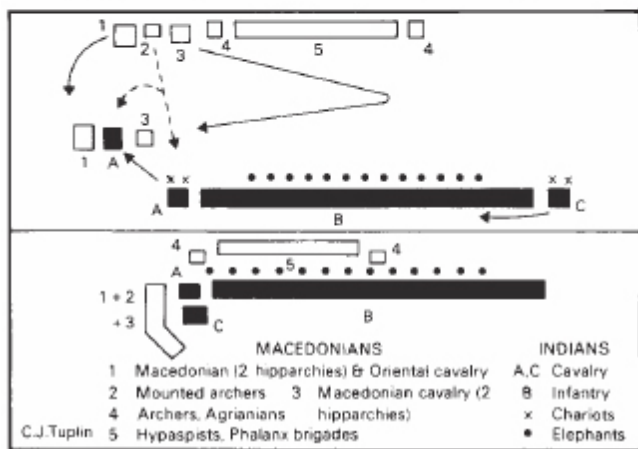
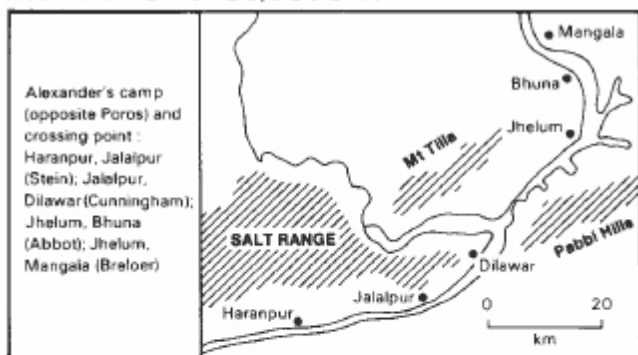


To quote Brunt, 'The diversity of modern accounts...shows that agreement...has not been attained and suggests that it is unattainable'. This entirely schematic plan shows the position just before first contact. The dispositions are from Arrian. The oblique Macedonian line, position of the wings, and extent of the Persian overlap, are arguable. Thereafter three stages may be identified:

1. The Macedonian right [1-6] stalls attack by Darius' left wing [A, B, parts of D], while lightarmed troops [8-10] neutralise a chariot attack [C].
2. The Companions and infantry phalanx [7, 11] rout the now exposed Persian left/centre [rest of D, E]; Darius flees; the extreme left panics.
3. The Macedonian left and left-centre phalanx comes under severe pressure: some Persian cavalry may have got through it, or around it, to the baggage camp. But apparently the phalanx holds its own unaided, since the Companions and other cavalry

[7, 1] moving behind the lines encounter retreating Parthian cavalry. Controversy attaches particularly to this entire last stage of the battle.

RIVER HYDASPES, 326 B.C.

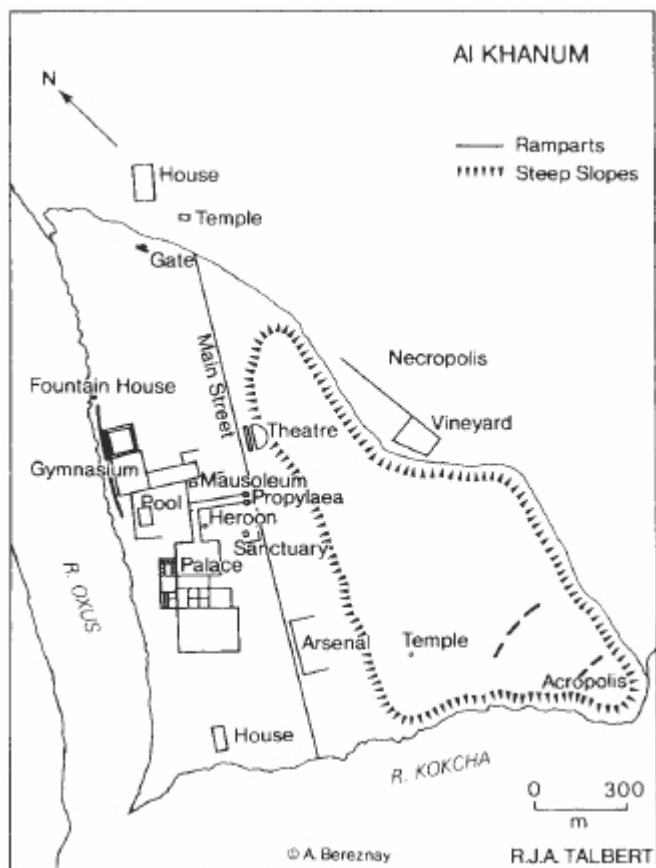


River Hydaspes, 326 BC

The map illustrates (a) Alexander's surprise river crossing, for which Stein's location is generally preferred; and (b) the subsequent decisive battle. Poros' dispositions derive from Arrian; Alexander's are nowhere properly described. The extent of Indian overlap is debatable.

Alexander's initial cavalry victory drove the Indian horse onto the infantry line, and caused the elephants/infantry to attempt a leftward counter-movement. The Indian left's co-ordination was thus broken, and it was exposed to the Macedonian infantry, which pelted the elephants with missiles and then mounted a crushing mass charge. The chief problem is unit 3, which made for the Indian right but still participated in the cavalry battle. Probably it doubled back as shown,

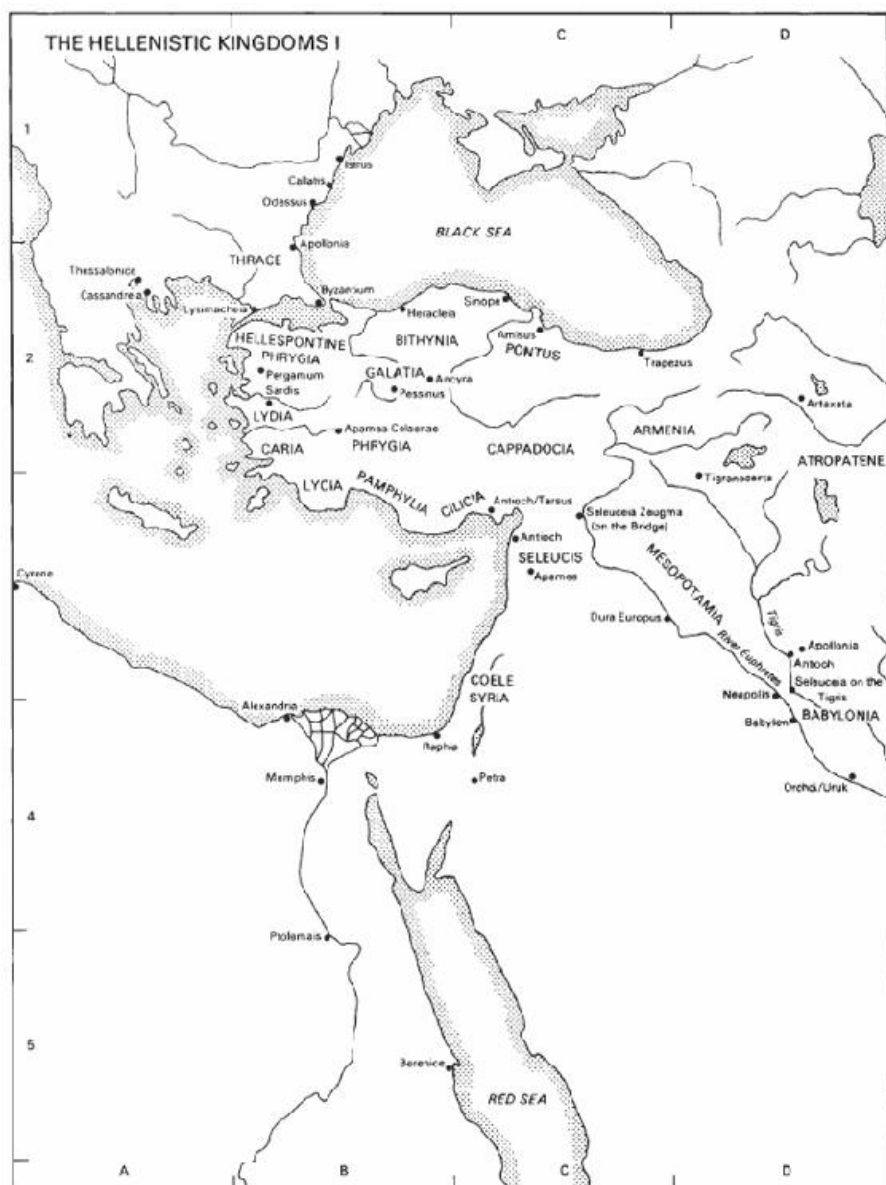
but some believe that Poros transferred his rightwing cavalry to the left— as is likely in any case—and that unit 3 followed them behind the Indian lines and attacked as they reached their goal.



Ai Khanum

The site of Ai Khanum ('Lady moon') takes its name from the nearby village in a remote frontier region where Afghanistan borders the USSR. Discovered by accident, it has been excavated by a French archaeological mission since 1965 to uncover the first evidence (beyond coins) of Greco-Bactrian civilisation. The city was most probably founded either by Alexander or Seleucus, and flourished for nearly 200 years until its violent destruction at the hands of nomadic invaders in the late first century BC. Its situation at the confluence of the Oxus and Kokcha was well chosen, with an acropolis rising to 60 metres reinforced by ramparts, especially to the exposed north east. The best residential area (to the south west) and the city's extensive

public buildings were concentrated in the flat area between the left bank of the R.Oxus and a straight main street running below the acropolis. Throughout there appears a revealing blend of Oriental influence and traditional Greek elements.







THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS II: GREECE AND WESTERN ASIA MINOR





The Hellenistic Kingdoms

While Alexander greatly increased the scale of the Greek world, the successor kingdoms never quite achieved stability in their inheritance. The Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt was both the first to be securely established and the last to fall, when Augustus defeated Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BC. Antigonos Monophthalmus gained control of Syria and Asia Minor, but lost it at Ipsus in 301; his descendants did not

establish a secure hold in the Hellenistic world until a quarter of a century later, when Antigonos Gonatas gained Macedon. The dynasty finally fell after defeat by the Romans at Pydna in 168. The foundation of the Seleucid dynasty was laid by Seleucus in the eastern part of Alexander's realm while Syria was controlled by Antigonos Monophthalmus. Seleucus and Lysimachus, then in command of Thrace, defeated Antigonos at Ipsus; Lysimachus won Asia Minor and Seleucus north Syria. Twenty years later Seleucus defeated Lysimachus at Corupedium and gained Asia Minor. The Attalid dynasty of Pergamum remained a minor power until the Seleucids were excluded from Asia Minor, following the Roman victory over Antiochus III at Magnesia-by-Sipylus in 190.

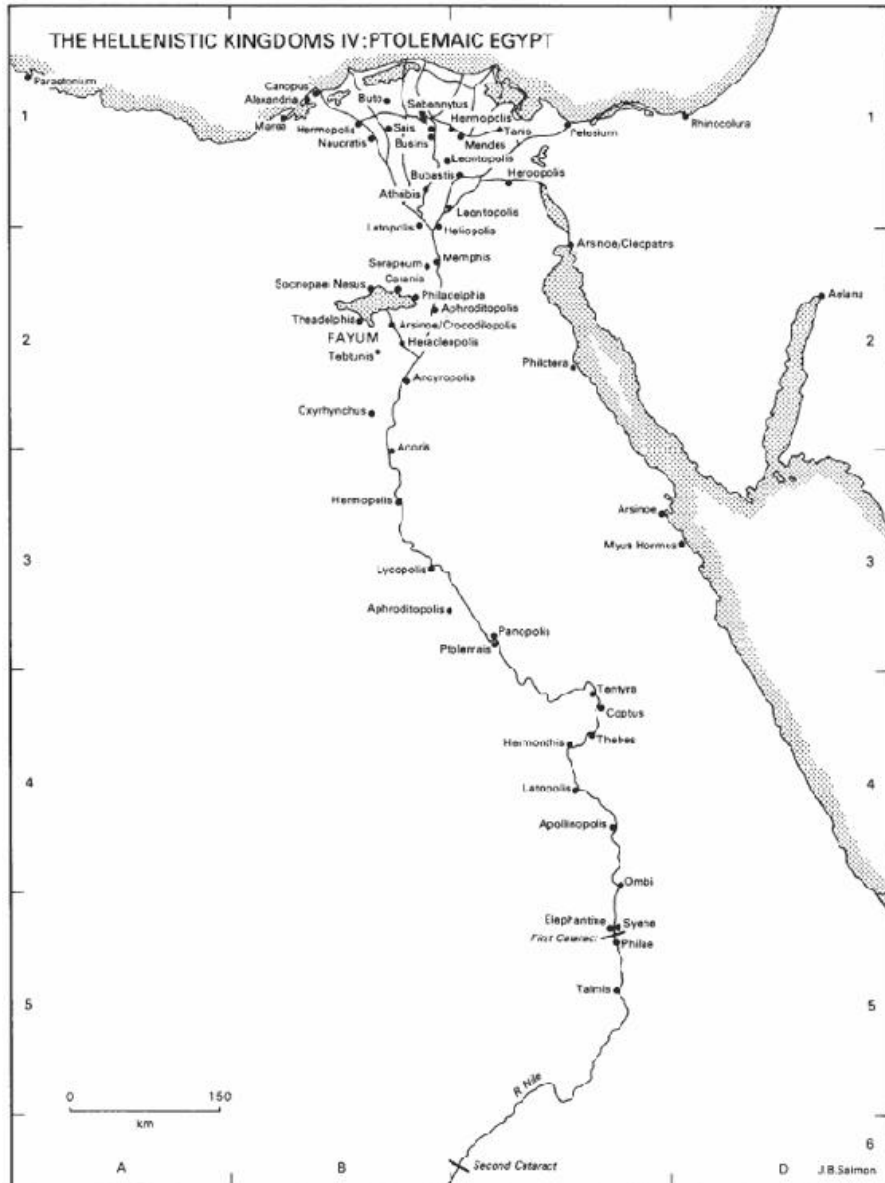
A major feature of the period was the foundation of new cities, often with dynastic names. The trend, begun by Alexander, was continued especially by the Seleucids. Cities reinforced royal control, and offered familiar institutions to the Greek and Macedonian settlers who fulfilled a key military and administrative role. Many native settlements were eventually granted city status. Cities enjoyed a theoretical independence, though in practice they generally recognised that their interests coincided with those of the kings. Even in the Greek homeland new cities such as Demetrias, and Lysimacheia in the Thracian Chersonese, were founded by the kings, or old cities were strengthened, to secure control of strategically vital regions. By contrast, the Ptolemies' control of Egypt was secure enough to make new cities superfluous; their only foundation was the early one of Ptolemais.

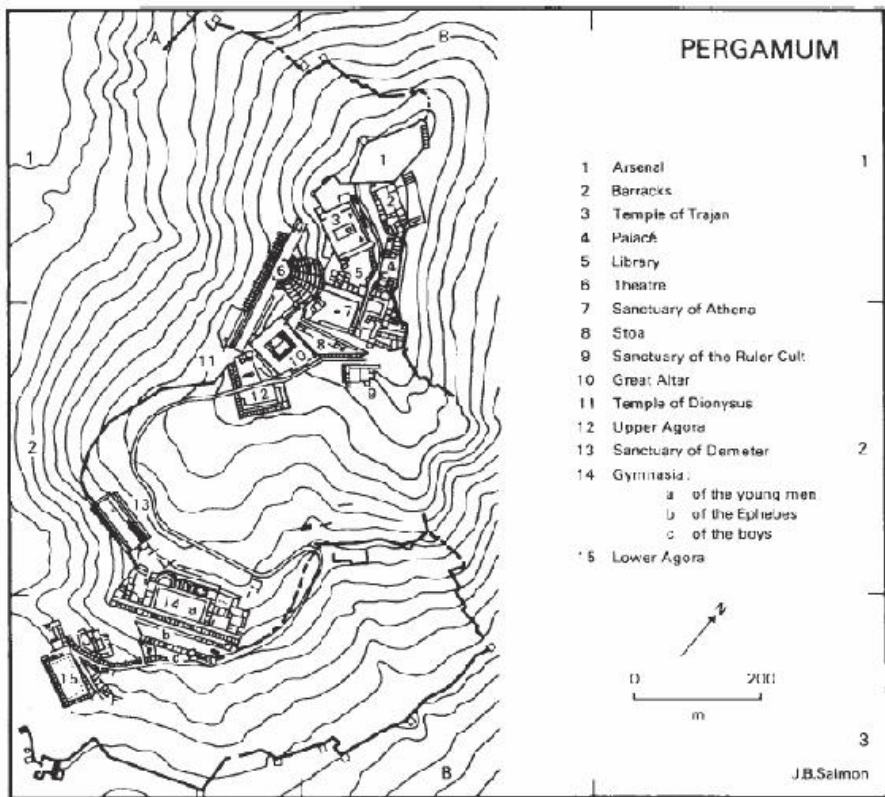
The Seleucids' realm cannot be accurately defined at any stage. Once established in north Syria, they secured it with numerous city foundations in what came to be known as the Seleucis. This controlled communications either side of the desert between Coele Syria and Mesopotamia, both with Egypt and further east along the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. It also gave Seleucus his only westward sea communications; when he gained Asia Minor it became less exposed on the periphery of the realm, but Seleucid control in Asia Minor was only ever partial. The Ptolemies maintained possessions in the south, while independent states were strung along the north coast. The Galatians were gradually restricted to what came to be known as Galatia; and the Attalids were independent long before they profited from the Roman desire to exclude the Seleucids. Rebels exploited the difficulty of maintaining control over the enormous realm, and kings faced attempts at secession both in Asia Minor and in the 'Upper Satrapies' beyond Seleuceia on the Tigris. Seleucus I had already yielded the easternmost portions of Alexander's conquests to

Chandragupta, while royal subordinates later seceded in Bactria and Parthia. Antiochus III restored control briefly. But pressure from the Parthians combined with that of Rome to squeeze the Seleucids into north Syria, where they were finally suppressed by Pompey.

The power of the Ptolemies was based on the wealth of Egypt; but in the late fourth and third centuries they enjoyed widespread possessions in southern Asia Minor, the Aegean and even mainland Greece. Despite his failure to participate at Ipsus—indeed perhaps because of it—Ptolemy I profited by seizing Coele Syria; the area was disputed with the Seleucids in various ‘Syrian Wars’ until Antiochus III gained it, along with a problematic relationship with the Jews, in 200. Major internal difficulties, created both by rebellious Egyptians and by dynastic disputes, prevented the Ptolemies from playing a significant positive role in the Mediterranean world in the second century.

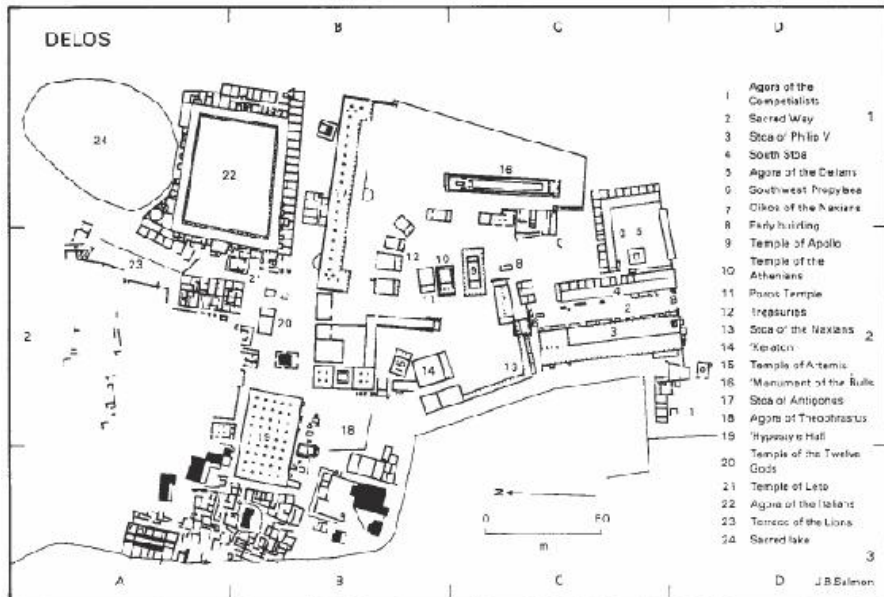
THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS IV: PTOLEMAIC EGYPT





Pergamum

Lysimachus, when he controlled Asia Minor, left Philetaerus in charge of his treasury at Pergamum and enabled him to lay the foundations for the Attalid dynasty. It increased its status with the defeat of the Galatians of central Asia Minor by Attalus I in the 230s. Pergamum, built on a steep rocky hill, reflects both its standing as a royal capital, and what was expected of a well-appointed Hellenistic city. The gymnasium, with its three sections (14a–c), was the largest in the Greek world. The arsenal (1), barracks (2), and palace (4) were situated appropriately at the top of the hill. The library (5) shows the Attalids as patrons of learning, while the sculptural decoration of the Great Altar of Zeus (10), depicting the battle between Gods and Giants, symbolises the victory over the Galatians.



Delos

The earliest known temple (11) on the tiny Aegean island of Delos is as late as the sixth century; but other buildings (7, 8) on the site reflect a much earlier origin for the cult of Apollo here. A huge marble statue of kouros type, made in the early sixth century, stood in the open air against the north wall of the Oikos (House) of the Naxians (7); and a terrace which looked over the approach from the north was embellished by a series of marble lions (23). When the Delian League was founded, a new temple (9) was begun; but it was not completed until Hellenistic times, perhaps because of the removal of the treasury of the League to Athens in 454. A third temple (10) was constructed by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War, and the island was ritually purified. But there was never a large temple on the site. Since the whole island was thought to be sacred, the sanctuary was not clearly defined. Other deities besides Apollo had temples, among them his sister Artemis (15), and their mother Leto (21). A sacred dance was performed in front of the Keraton (14).

The fourth century saw little development; but during the Hellenistic period the first major structures were erected. Kings of the Antigonid dynasty of Macedon constructed two stoas (3, 17), and an Antigonos (probably Gonatas) built what is known from part of its decoration as the Monument of the Bulls (16) to house a ship dedicated in memory of a naval victory. The numerous agoras (1, 5, 18, 22) reflect the

Hellenistic development of Delos as a commercial centre, and the 'Hypostyle Hall' (19) may have been connected with similar activity. Structures for other deities, often showing the cosmopolitan origins of the traders who frequented the island, were to be found elsewhere; and especially to the south of the main sacred area there were residential quarters.

Major Cult Centres of the Classical World

No maps can show the complexities of religion in the classical world. Personal beliefs defy geography, and polytheism itself took many forms. There were cults of most of the Olympian gods in every great city and in many lesser ones. The maps here present a selection of major shrines, oracles, and centres of worship, all notable for political or literary reasons. Cults of heroes, and places merely mentioned in the legends associated with deities, are generally excluded except for the cult of the 'demi-god' Heracles, and the special case of the oracle of the seer Amphiaraus. No attempt has been made to mark all shrines known in major centres of population, such as Rome, Ostia or Athens. It should be recognised that cult was also paid everywhere to numerous local heroes—such as Oedipus at Colonus, or Neoptolemus at Delphi, to name but two prominent in the literary tradition.

The picture which emerges cannot reveal the numerically dominant cult in particular areas. The cults of Iuppiter and Mars, for example, were in fact predominant throughout Italy. Equally it has not proved possible to trace on the maps the rise and decline of different sites. For instance, the Olympic Games are important from the earliest historical times, while the mysteries of the Cabiri on Samothrace only assume significance first in the fourth century, and reach their heyday much later; the latter point applies also to the sites of the Asia Minor coast. The emphasis in these maps is on cults vigorous in the classical period.

The map of the Aegean World attempts to show, within the constraints of present knowledge, four principal features as follows: cults, festivals and sites of panhellenic importance (oracles, games, mysteries); cults of unusual interest owing to the nature of their ritual (Brauron, Eleusis, Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Lebadea); cults where the archaeological evidence is especially illuminating or interesting

(Bassae, Aegina); the legendary dwelling places of the gods, important in literary sources. In most of the cults, the ritual included an annual festival, often with races or other games. Where the names of the festivals do not echo that of the god honoured, they may be traced through the works cited in the 'Suggestions for Further Reading'. It should be noted that because of the strong Minoan-Mycenaean heritage, *Cretan* gods and cults differ from those of the mainland. Most Cretan gods, however, came to be identified with counterparts from the latter group in the classical period. The cults shown in Sicily and south Italy reflect some of the vigorous temple building of the tyrants of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. It is hard to tell how far the sites of temples there continue the traditional cult sites of pre-Greek times.

In some parts of the ancient world major cult centres were so few that no attempt has been made to map these areas. For the western provinces of the Roman Empire, the table in R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, p. 6, shows that—apart from Iuppiter, whose cult was preeminent here—the most popular gods in dedicatory inscriptions were as follows, in descending order of frequency:

Gaul and Germany: Mercury, Mars, Apollo, Hercules, Mithras/ Sol, Fortuna, Cybele, Silvanus;

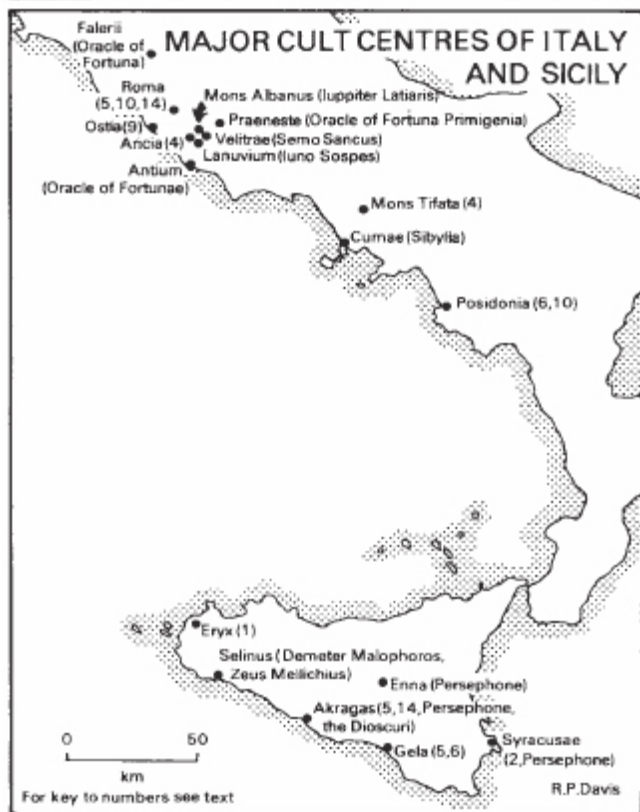
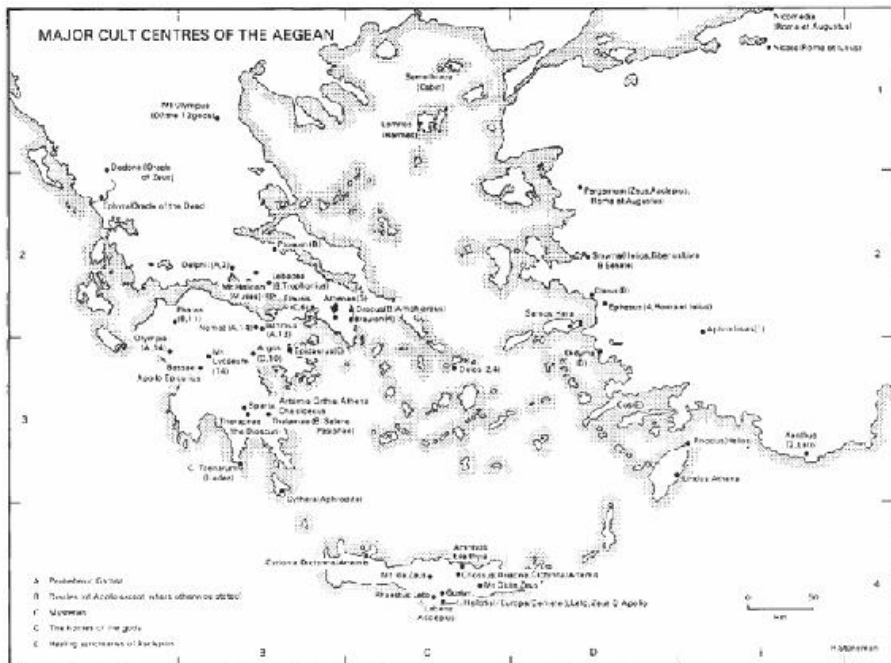
North Africa: Mercury, Liber, Fortuna, Mars, Venus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Silvanus;

Italy (apart from Rome and Ostia): Hercules, Mercury, Fortuna, Silvanus, Diana, Isis/ Serapis, Mithras/Sol, Venus, Mars;

North-central provinces: Silvanus, Mithras/Sol, Diana, Hercules, Liber.

Further complication was caused by the tendency to identify gods of one people with those of another (syncretism). Greeks gave the names of their Greek gods to the deities whose cults they encountered in Egypt; Romanised Celts identified their own gods with those of the Romans, or combined two names of originally separate divinities (like Mars Segomo). The most important series of identifications—the *interpretatio romana* of the main Greek deities—appears on p. 81.

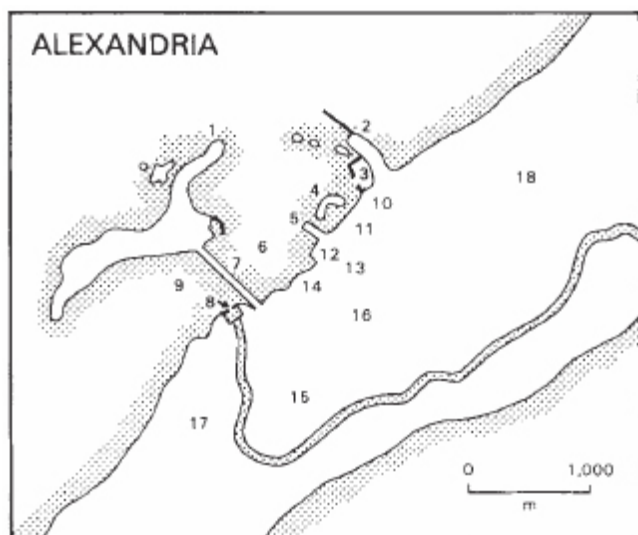
Many gods appear in the same form in Greek and Latin: for example, Apollo (Phoebus), Cybele, Hecate, Isis, Uranus. For some Roman gods—such as Ianus and Iuturna—no Greek equivalent was found.



The Great Olympians (numbered as on both maps opposite): 1.

Aphrodite = Venus; 2. Apollo = Apollo; 3. Ares = Mars; 4. Artemis = Diana; 5. Athene = Minerva; 6. Demeter = Ceres; 7. Dionysus (Iacchus, Bacchus) = Liber Pater (Bacchus); 8. Hades (Pluton) = Dis (Pluto); 9. Hephaestus = Volcanus; 10. Hera = Iuno; 11. Hermes = Mercurius; 12. Hestia = Vesta; 13. Poseidon = Neptunus; 14. Zeus = Iuppiter.

Other deities: Amphitrite = Salacia; Asklepios = Aesculapius; Charites = Gratiae (the Graces); Cronos = Saturnus; Eileithyia = Lucina; Enyo = Bellona; Eos = Aurora (Dawn); Erinyes = Furies (the Furies); Eros = Cupidus; Gaia = Tellus (Earth); Hebe = Iuventas; Helios = Sol (Sun); Hygieia = Salus (Health); Leto = Latona; Moirae = Fata or Parcae (the Fates); Nike = Victoria; Pan = Faunus; Persephone (Kore) = Proserpina (Libera); Satyres = Satyres, Fauni or Sileni; Selene = Luna (Moon); Silenus = Silvanus; Tyche = Fortuna. *Heroes:* Aias = Ajax; Hekabe = Hecuba; Heracles = Hercules; Odysseus = Ulixes.

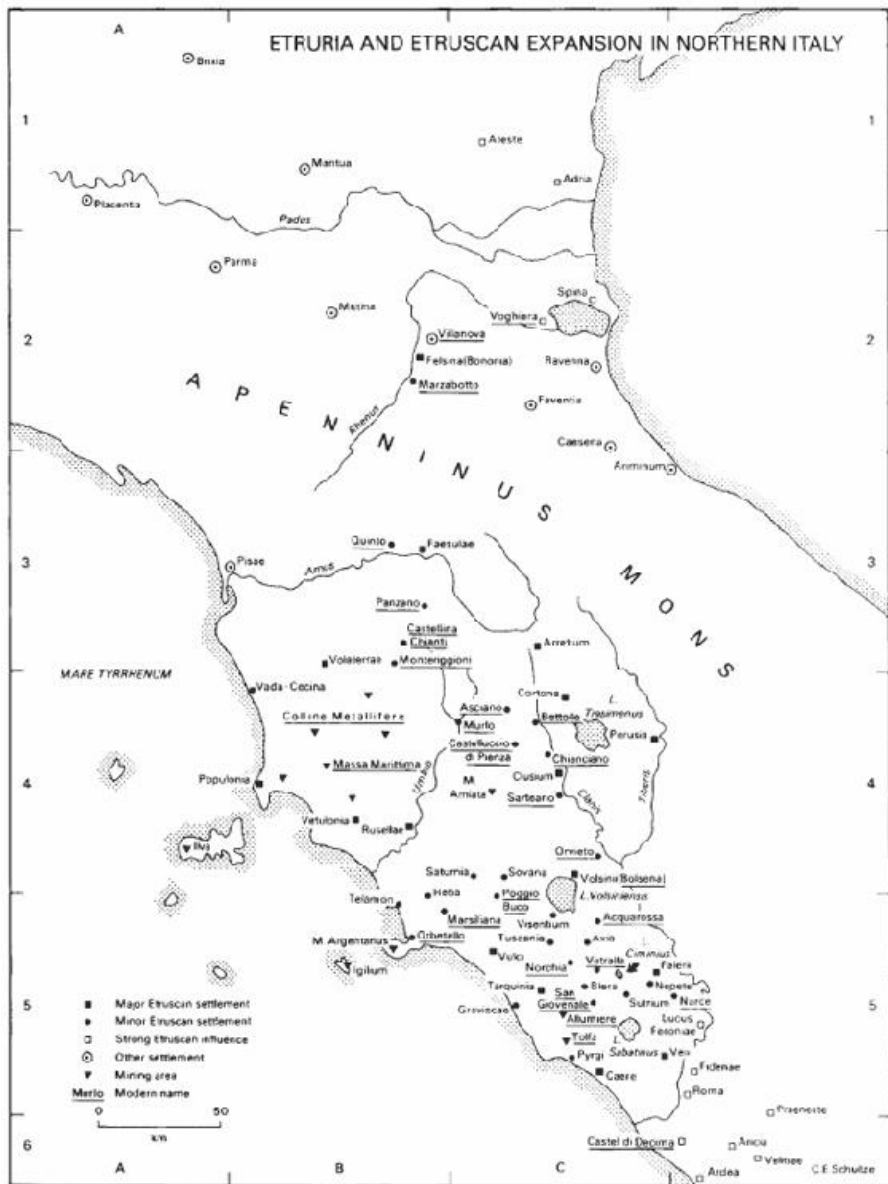


- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Lighthouse | 11 Theatre |
| 2 Cape Loxias | 12 Caesareum/Sebasteum |
| 3 Royal Harbour | 13 Emporium |
| 4 Antirrhodus | 14 Dockyards |
| 5 Timonium | 15 Serapeum, 'Pompey's Pillar' (Column of Diocletian) |
| 6 Great Harbour | 16 Small Late Roman Theatre |
| 7 Heptastadium | 17 } Cemeteries |
| 8 Cibotus Harbour | 18 } |
| 9 Eunostus Harbour | |
| 10 Palaces, Museum, Tomb of Alexander & the Ptolemies | |

J.B. Salmon

Alexandria

Alexandria was Alexander's first foundation; it soon became the capital of the Ptolemies. The Heptastadium joined the island of Pharos to the mainland and created two main harbours. The royal palaces, the tomb of Alexander and the museum and library were all to be found in the same region of the city: from the latter two institutions those attracted by Ptolemaic patronage led the intellectual life of the Hellenistic world. Alexandria's commercial significance is shown by the emporium, with its customs and warehouses. Very little, however, has been uncovered, although cemeteries to east and west presumably define the area inhabited by the mixed Greek, Jewish and Egyptian population. The Serapeum is known from excavation; the site of the Caesareum, later the Sebasteum (Augusteum), was marked by two obelisks removed in the nineteenth century to London (Cleopatra's Needle) and New York. But in general our knowledge of the Ptolemaic city still depends mainly on Strabo's description.



Etruria and Etruscan Expansion in Northern Italy

Etruria proper is bounded by the rivers Arnus and Tiber and stretches from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Apennines. Much of the terrain—like the Colline Metallifere and Mons Amiata—is mountainous, or at least hilly. The volcanic activity which created Lake Volsiniensis and other crater lakes also formed soft tufa rock which breaks down easily to

form a fertile soil. There are alluvial river valleys and small coastal plains. In classical times, at Veii and elsewhere irrigation improved natural fertility. There were easy communications by sea and along the navigable Arnus and Tiber; many smaller rivers, too, linked inland towns to the coast. An important route was provided by the Clanis and Tiber: it joined the northern and southern cities, and through Rome or Praeneste gave access to the Liris-Volturnus route into Campania. Northwards, a route led from the mid-Arnus over the Apennine watershed to the Rhenus, and thence to Felsina and the Po. Mineral deposits exploited from the Bronze Age explain early Etruscan prosperity. Ilva (Elba) produced iron, Volaterrae copper, Tolfa iron and copper, while the Colline Metallifere yielded copper, silver, and lead.

Etruscan civilisation flourished from the eighth century and reached its height in the sixth century. Its heartland roughly corresponds with the southern area of Villanovan influence—an Iron Age culture (900–700) named after Villanova, near Felsina, where the first finds were made. While Villanovans played an important formative role, other influences, too, moulded Etruscan civilisation, especially from the east. In the seventh century Etruscan city-states developed, typically consisting of a planned urban centre, with an agricultural hinterland and a cluster of satellite towns. In addition to alliances, a loose confederation of 12 cities—the ‘Etruscan dodecapolis’—is recorded, probably religious rather than political in character. Within communities a wealthy elite controlled a large class of dependants. South Etruria developed first, with the growth of towns such as Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci and Veii: lying on accessible trading routes, these centres achieved a high degree of skill in metal-working, pottery, and other crafts. More northerly inland towns like Clusium soon followed. Later their flourishing agriculture enabled them to remain prosperous after the coastal towns had started to decline in the fifth century.

Etruscans crossed the Apennines to settle in the Po valley, where their most important towns were Felsina, Marzabotto and Mantua. Down to the fourth century there was also considerable interchange with other communities both north and south of the Po, and along the Adriatic coast. In the fifth century Adria and especially Spina became major centres for trade with Greece. Southwards, Etruscans settled at Capua and elsewhere in Campania as far as the Salernum area (see p. 115). Sources mention a dodecapolis in both the Po area and Campania. Despite the difficulties which the story raises, it reflects a strong tradition about the scope of Etruscan power. Notable influence in Latium is best documented for Rome: an Etruscan dynasty ruled here

from the late seventh century, and constitutional, religious, and artistic influences are clear. Remains from Praeneste and other Latin towns similarly reflect close links.

Etruscan sea-power brought contact with Corsica, Sardinia and the Phoenicians. Commercial and military alliances were made between Etruscans and Carthaginians, who shared a common interest in resisting Greek penetration of the Western Mediterranean. Nonetheless Etruscans traded extensively with Greeks, as well as developing and transmitting an alphabet derived from that used by the Greeks of Cumae in the eighth century.

From the late sixth century Etruscan power began to decline, with the fall of the Etruscan dynasty at Rome, and defeats by Latins and Cumaeans at Aricia c. 504, and by the Syracusans off Cumae in 474. In the north, Celts pressed on the Po area in the later fifth century, and reached north Etruria in the fourth century. Finally Rome took the offensive. Veii fell first, in 396; with the conquest of Falerii in 241, the whole of Etruria was under Roman domination.

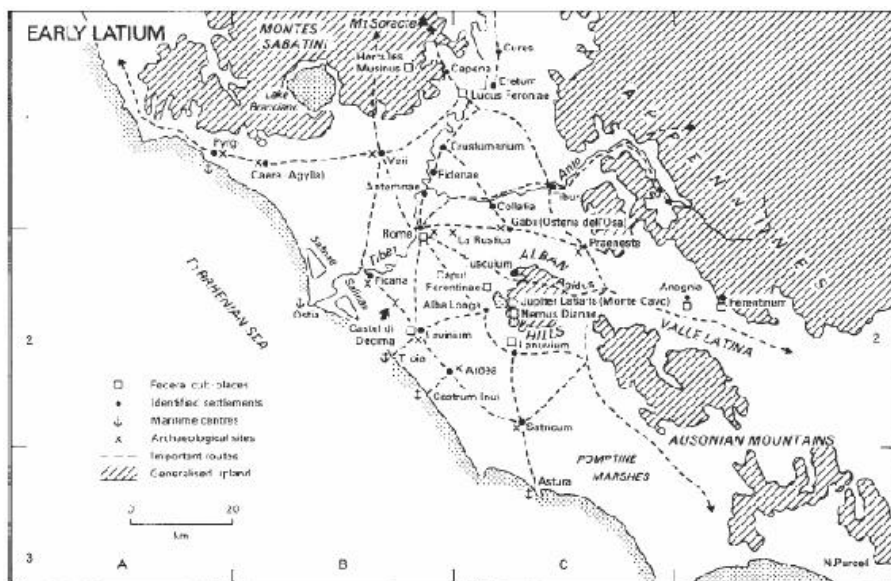
exchange of cultural influences. The eastern side, with less favourable terrain and poorer communications—no navigable rivers or good harbours—was less affected by such development, while the Apennines limited westward contact. Impact from overseas is clear: from Carthaginians based in Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily; from Greeks (Italiotes), who since the eighth century had colonised the coast from Cumae to Tarentum (*Magna Graecia*) as well as Sicily; from Illyrians, known as Iapyges, who settled first in the heel of Italy and then spread north; and from Gauls, Celtic-speaking invaders from beyond the Alps.

In the north, from the fifth century Gallic tribes occupied the area which Romans called *Gallia Cisalpina*. The Insubres and Cenomani settled north of the R. Padus (Po): these Transpadane Gauls greatly influenced their neighbours the Veneti and Raeti, and also mingled with Ligurian tribes to the west. South of the river, the powerful Boii around Bononia, together with their kin the Lingones, ended Etruscan control of the Po valley area. The most southerly group, the Senones, occupied the Adriatic coastal region later known as *Ager Gallicus*. Celtic incursions reached Etruria, Latium and, in 390, Rome itself. Even when settled, the Gauls were widely regarded as a threat until the early second century—a factor which contributed to the establishment of Roman hegemony in Italy. In the north western Apennines lived the Ligures, a tough, semi-civilised people; only the coastal tribes enjoyed significant prosperity.

In peninsular Italy, the Etruscans, powerful until the fifth century, spread their civilisation to the Po area and Campania (see p. 82). East of Etruria, the Umbrian tribes formed a cultural, but not a political, unity. Picenum on the Adriatic was another region with a distinctive culture, but ethnically mixed, including a strong Sabellic (Oscan-speaking) element. The Praetuttii, too, were Sabellic. On the west coast, Rome's immediate neighbours were her kin the Latins; they and the Hernici were her earliest allies against fifth century incursions upon Latium by the Umbrian-speaking Aequi and Volsci. There were also early contacts with the Sabini, along the saltroute from the sea to their inland villages. The Aurunci were the last remaining element of the originally widespread Osci, overrun by more powerful neighbours. Italic peoples of the mid-Apennine area encountered by Rome in the fourth century were the Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni and Frentani: all were Oscan-speakers living under various forms of tribal organisation, as did the Umbrian-speaking Marsi.

From the late fifth century the Sabellic tribes of the southern Apennines expanded notably. After the collapse of Etruscan power in Campania, cities such as Capua and Cumae were taken over and

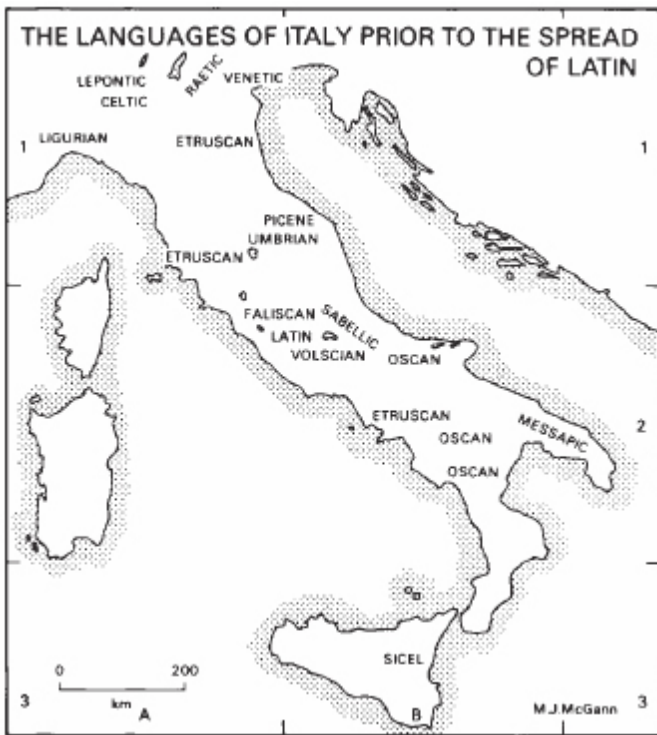
adopted Oscan speech. However the Sabellic invaders—thereafter known as Campanians—became completely urbanised under a city-state organisation, as had the Sidicini. In the fourth century they in turn were threatened by their Samnite kin, the warlike Oscan tribal confederation of the Apennine uplands—Caudini, Carricini, Pentri and Hirpini, the two last being the most powerful. East of the Apennines, the Dauni and Peucetii had developed a distinctive culture. When Sabellic penetration occurred there too, it was the northern peoples, the Apuli, who became the most Oscanised; the Messapii retained an Illyrian-type language. Further south west, the Oscan-speaking Lucani similarly overran and mingled with the Oenotri in the fifth century, as well as attacking several Greek cities. The toe of Italy was occupied by the tribal federation of the Bruttii, who were an offshoot of the Lucani: yet they never entirely dominated the Greek settlers there.



Early Latium

Between the steep scarp of the Appennine ridges and the outlying Ausonian mountains, the Valle Latina provides an excellent low level inland route north from Campania. It debouches into a wide plain from which rise two large volcanic uplands, the Monti Sabatini and the Alban hills. Between these flow the perennial and navigable Tiber, and its tributary the Anio, whose headwaters form a rare east-west route across the mountain spine of the peninsula. A relatively heavy rainfall has furrowed the sides of the volcanoes with a radial pattern of deeply incised gullies, between which are many defensive sites. In the eighth to sixth centuries these were occupied by the numerous small agricultural settlements of an Italic people whose copious archaeological remains are now usually called Latial. Over the last twenty years it has become clear from sites like Castel di Decima and Osteria dell' Osa that their society was prosperous and complex, as well as distinct from the Hellenised Etruscans to the north and in Campania, and from the other Italic peoples.

Near the Tiber—which served both as a route to the interior and as port of entry for overseas cultural influences—the terrain is flatter, though not very fertile. This is the distinctive landscape of the Roman Campagna, an area virtually uninhabited in large tracts almost within living memory, but in the imperial period the teeming hinterland of Rome: it was crisscrossed by a network of local and long-distance roads, which gave access to suburban communities, dormitory towns, villas and horticultural areas (see p. 122). This unique human landscape was the product of Rome's astonishing success as an imperial capital. Her cultural and political achievement was founded upon her nodal position on the navigable Tiber: in the Latial period this had given her the hegemony of the towns of the region, as well as a prosperity which even in the sixth century made her one of the larger cities of the western Mediterranean.



The Languages of Italy Prior to the Spread of Latin

It is impossible to represent accurately with clear cut boundaries the languages spoken in Italy at a precise date. With the exception of Latin, our knowledge of the languages of ancient Italy derives mainly from inscriptions (most of which cannot be dated precisely), and in a much lesser degree from proper names and a few individual words (glosses) preserved by classical writers. Not only is this latter evidence, too, chronologically ill-defined; it also does not necessarily provide accurate information about *speech* communities. The map therefore must confine itself to illustrating the linguistic diversity of Italy and Sicily before the rise of Rome and the accompanying spread of Latin.

Several of the languages of ancient Italy—including Latin—belong to the linguistic group called Indo-European. In ancient times such Indo-European languages were spoken in areas as far apart as Ireland and India. They share certain features usually held to point to a common origin in a language not directly attested (termed proto-Indo-European). From it, through a process of differentiation, the

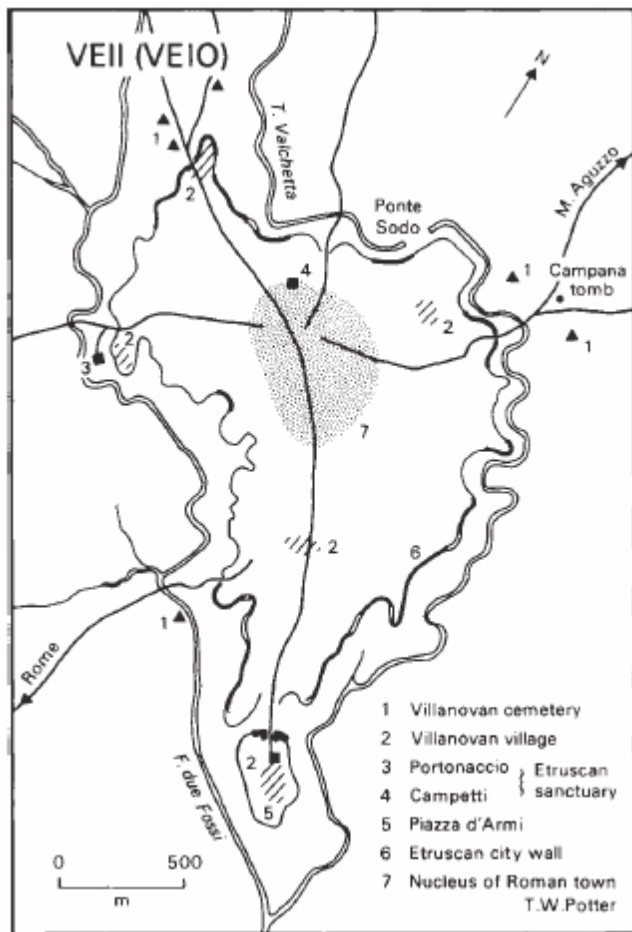
historically attested Indo-European languages derive.

Latin was originally the language of the city of Rome and, with some dialectal differences, of the region of Latium. Very similar to Latin is the language of some inscriptions from Falerii, north of Rome. Known as *Faliscan*, it shows in addition some influence from *Etruscan*, the language of Etruria, which is attested also in the north east of the peninsula and in Campania. Etruscan is almost certainly a non-Indo-European language. It is represented by a large number of texts, most of which are short, and consist of proper names and recurring formulae; these can be understood. However, the much smaller number of longer texts cannot yet be translated with confidence.

A language scantily attested through proper names and glosses in the region of Liguria, north of Etruria, has been called *Ligurian*. *Celtic* (an Indo-European language) was introduced to Italy by settlers who established themselves in the north Italian plain and were called Galli by the Romans. From an area further north come inscriptions in an apparently Indo-European language called *Lepontic*. In north east Italy are attested *Raetic*, of uncertain classification; *Venetic*, Indo-European, and showing similarities to Latin; and, as has been noted, *Etruscan*. From further south, in Picenum, comes a number of inscriptions in a language, or possibly two languages, of obscure classification, which is best called *Picene* (or *North* and *South Picene*).

From Iguvium in Umbria (east of Etruria) come substantial religious inscriptions written in an Indo-European language which is taken to be representative of the whole region and is termed *Umbrian*. Closely related to it is *Oscan*, the dominant language of southern Italy before the Roman conquest. In central Italy various languages are attested—the *Sabellic* group and *Volscian*. These show similarities to Oscan and Umbrian, and with them form the so-called *Osco-Umbrian* group of languages.

A language attested in the heel of Italy, *Messapic*, has been seen as having Balkan connections. Some inscriptions from the east of Sicily are in a language called *Sicel*. In addition to these languages, *Greek* was spoken and written in many places in southern Italy and Sicily.

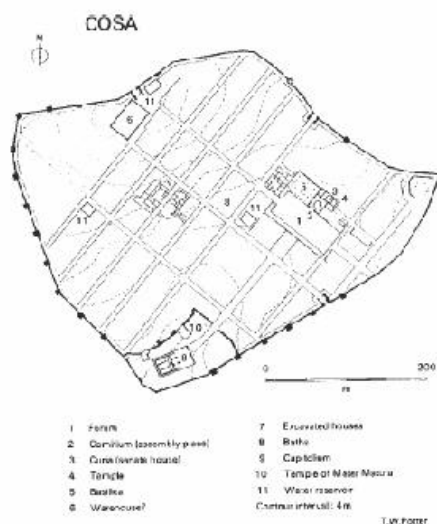


Veii

The site of Veii lies 16 km to the north of the centre of Rome, a proximity that was bound to bring this leading Etruscan city into conflict with an expanding young republic. Veii originated as a series of Villanovan villages, probably founded in the ninth century BC; they were dispersed around a great plateau, strongly protected by river valleys. These villages eventually coalesced to form the Etruscan settlement. Regular streets, houses and a sanctuary were laid out in the sixth century on the Piazza d'Armi, but the rest of the Etruscan city grew up in a haphazard way. Though massive town defences were provided in the fifth century, the city lapsed into obscurity after Veii's defeat by Rome in 396.

As a community which possessed a forum, theatre, baths and the *schola* of a *collegium* (the three latter structures known through

inscriptions), Veii was later accorded municipal status under Augustus. But it had been bypassed by the new Roman road system, and supported only a small population. Veii was nevertheless one of the many major Etruscan cities which remained in occupation well into the imperial period, and often into medieval and modern times.

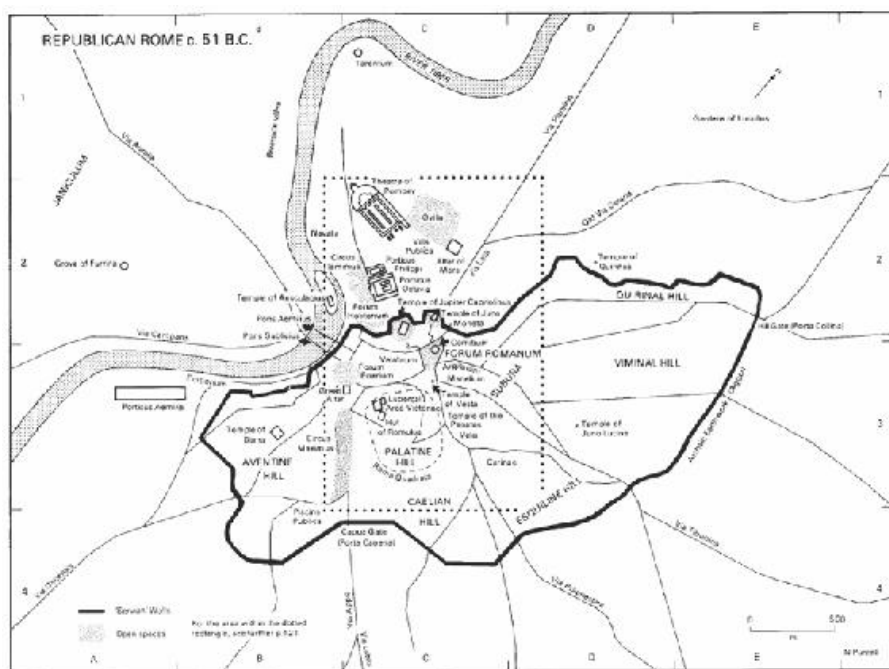


Cosa

The Latin colony of Cosa was founded in 273 BC in the territory of the Etruscan city of Vulci. Strongly positioned on a limestone hill overlooking the Tyrrhenian Sea, it has been extensively excavated. The walls enclosed some 13.35 hectares of undulating terrain, which dictate the irregular shape of the defences. There were numerous towers along the more vulnerable west and south sides, which face the sea; and, as was customary in Italic towns, there were three gates. Inside the walls, the streets divided the town into a series of rectangular blocks. The irregularity of the contours ensured that the forum and associated buildings (which represent at least five main phases of construction) lay somewhat off centre; while the Capitolium was situated within its own defences on an eminence to the south west. Houses are attested in nearly every block: excavation shows them to have consisted of rooms laid out around a central court. Water storage tanks are also a conspicuous feature of the site.

Luna

The Roman colony of Luna (Luni) is situated on low-lying flat ground, close to the ancient coastline of the Tyrrhenian Sea and overshadowed by hills containing the imperial marble quarries of Carrara. Founded early in the second century BC and made a *colonia* under Augustus, the site was not finally abandoned until the thirteenth century AD. The town plan as demarcated by its wall is a rectangle, within which was a regular grid of streets. Public buildings identified include a forum—centrally placed, as was customary—the Capitolium, and a covered theatre. Richly decorated private houses have also been excavated. Outside the town was an amphitheatre; there are traces of wharfs too. These port facilities were of particular importance for the export of marble, cheese and other goods, as well as for the import of items such as oil and wine from Spain, north Africa and elsewhere. Although the forum was out of use by c. AD 400, the long-distance trading contacts remained active till much later.



Republican Rome

Streams draining into the R.Tiber have cut deep, steep-sided valleys into gently sloping beds of volcanic tufa and calcareous freshwater deposits to form long projecting spurs and isolated hills. The gullies between these were much deeper before the centuries of continuous urban occupation partly obliterated them. The valley floors were very

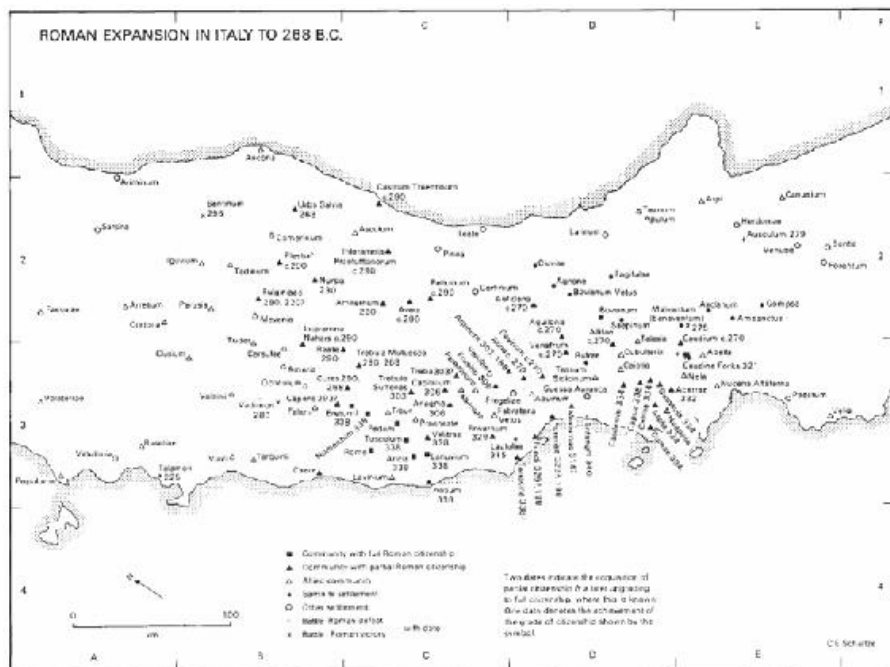
illdrained, so that in the eighth and seventh centuries BC it was the tops which formed the sites for a number of nucleated village settlements. The Romans believed that the one on the Palatine Hill—which they called *Roma Quadrata*, or ‘Square Rome’—was the most ancient. In affirming its primacy they could show huts and other genuine remains of the prehistoric period. They also believed in an ethnic difference between the inhabitants of the hills.

Archaeology and the Roman tradition alike confirm the unification of these settlements into one large and urbanised unit around the end of the seventh century. In the sixth century Rome was a city of importance, with fortifications and public monuments comparable to those of any contemporary Mediterranean city—above all the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The Tiber had been bridged by this time: indeed it was the presence of the bridge which brought about the accumulation of the island in the river, not the island which made possible the bridge. In affording a highway to the interior as well as an extended, safe harbour along its banks, the Tiber was essential to the development of Rome: it made the city a great port and the place of contact between the Mediterranean maritime world and the peoples of peninsular Italy. Close to the river grew up the markets of the city and an emporium which attained its greatest elaboration in the second century BC with the building of the enormous *Porticus Aemilia*.

The valleys between the hills became densely packed with Rome’s rapidly swelling population, but the hilltops—cooler in summer—remained the preserve of the wealthy, particularly the Palatine and the *Carinae* spur of the *Esquiline*. By the end of the Republic the built-up area had virtually filled the walls of the Middle Republican period (last renewed in the 80s), and was spreading out onto the *Campus Martius* and beyond the *Capena Gate*. But the meadows of the two Tiber meanders were still too wet for development, and *Transtiberim* only became populous in the Augustan period. However from the third century onwards the open spaces of the *Campus Martius*—scene of popular assemblies at muster-time or elections—were rapidly made monumental along Hellenistic lines. A succession of triumphing commanders right down to Augustus built here great porticoes, temples, and finally theatres.

Although from the earliest times the same spirit of display had sprinkled the city with fine temples, it was only in the last years of the Republic that Rome’s architecture, even in the *Campus Martius* or *Forum Romanum*, once again came to compare with that of the Greek East. From the third century onwards much money had regularly been channelled into utilitarian projects such as aqueducts and roads, but

the city remained under-provided with amenities, and its appearance was generally shabby until the Augustan age. Such open spaces as the Circus Flaminius and Circus Maximus, for example, did not acquire their monumental definition until quite late. The survival of so large a population in so cramped and unhealthy a position must always have been precarious; without the river, and later the assistance of the aqueducts, it would have been impossible.



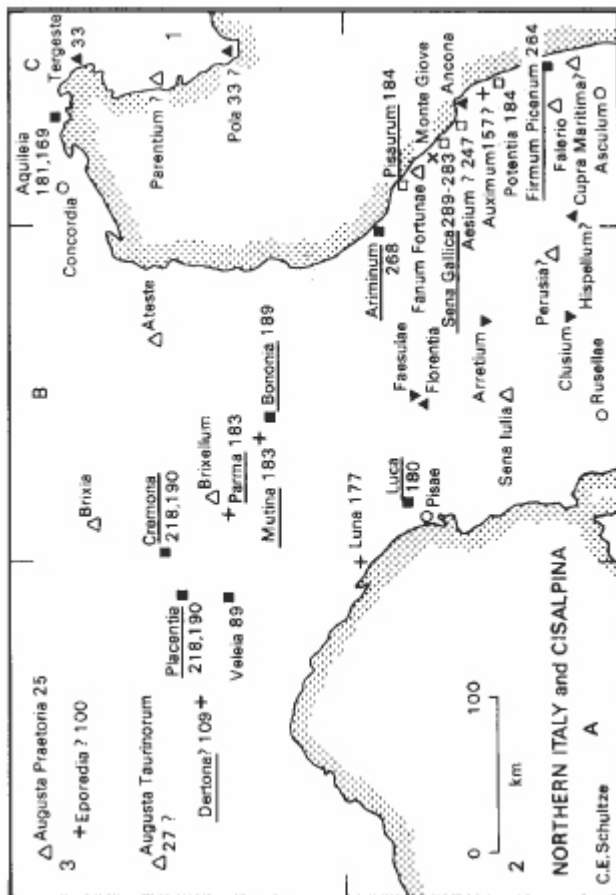
Roman Expansion in Italy to 268 BC

Roman expansion began in the regal period with the annexation of smaller neighbouring settlements. Their inhabitants became Roman citizens, enrolled in the four urban and seventeen rural tribes (local areas of domicile) which were in existence by 495. Down to the early fourth century Rome was occupied in holding her own in Latium, and in co-operating with her Latin and Hernican neighbours to resist incursions from Aequi and Volsci. Expansion took the form of colonisation jointly with the Latins (see pp. 94–5). The conquest of Etruscan Veii in 396 (see p. 82) greatly increased Roman territory: the land was allotted in virgane grants to individual Roman citizens, who were enrolled in four new tribes in 387. The capture of Rome by the Gauls in 390 slowed progress; but two new tribes were created in 358, and Rome had recovered by the mid-fourth century.

After victory over Latins, Campanians, Volscians and others in the 'Latin war' (340–38), the increasing size of the territory under Rome's influence led to new forms of association and control, not necessarily entailing Roman annexation, settlement or even administration—for which, in any case, she was not equipped. Certain existing communities were incorporated as *municipia*: their inhabitants became Roman citizens, liable to military service and taxation. In recompense *municipia* enjoyed local autonomy and retained their laws, customs and identity. There were two grades: in the more privileged, the inhabitants were *cives Romani optimo iure* (Roman citizens with full rights), wholly equal to existing Roman citizens and enrolled in Roman tribes; in the less privileged, they were *cives sine suffragio* (citizens without vote), partial citizens, possessing the same rights in private law, but unable to vote or hold office at Rome. Full citizenship was granted initially just to selected Latin-speaking communities; more distant or less cultured peoples first received partial citizenship, and were upgraded later. Some Sabine towns were the first non-Latins to benefit thus in 268.

Other states became allies (*socii* or *foederati*) on signing a bilateral treaty (*foedus*) with Rome. This defined their duties and privileges, which varied greatly. Though in theory independent and self-governing, most allies were really more or less subordinate to Rome. Their chief duty was to provide troops; they did not pay Roman taxes. However, since treaties were often imposed by Rome after conquest—which usually also entailed confiscation of territory—the provision of troops from a reduced economic base could prove onerous. Allied communities were very diverse in origin and social organisation: Greek city states, Italian towns, tribal peoples. Those whose status is firmly attested or fairly certain are shown here; doubtless there were many more by the mid-third century.

After 338, the last power to resist Roman control of the peninsula was the Samnite tribal confederation of the southern Apennines. Rome recognised a Samnite sphere in a treaty of 354, and despite hostilities in 343–1, the Samnites were Rome's allies again by the time of the 'Latin war' of 340–38. However Rome's continuing expansion, and especially the foundation of Fregellae (328), provoked lengthy second and third Samnite wars (327–04, 298–90). The Samnites had Etruscan, Umbrian and Gallic allies, so that Rome was often fighting on two fronts. Victory at Sentinum (295) gained her northern central Italy, and by 290 the defeated Samnites were forced into a Roman alliance, losing much territory. Colonisation and *virgatus* grants continued meanwhile, with new tribes being created in pairs in 332, 318, 299 and 241, bringing the tribal total to 35. Finally, in the Pyrrhic war



Roman Colonisation

In Roman terms, to found a colony was to establish a self-governing civic community with its own laws, magistrates and administration. The necessary land was acquired by conquest and expropriation of the former inhabitants. An urban centre was built to a more or less standard pattern, as at Cosa (p. 89). In addition to residential areas this included temples, market, assembly area and public buildings, like senate house, court, treasury. Some inhabitants lived within the walls, others settled in the *territorium* beyond. All were allotted plots of ground, as well as sharing rights over common land.

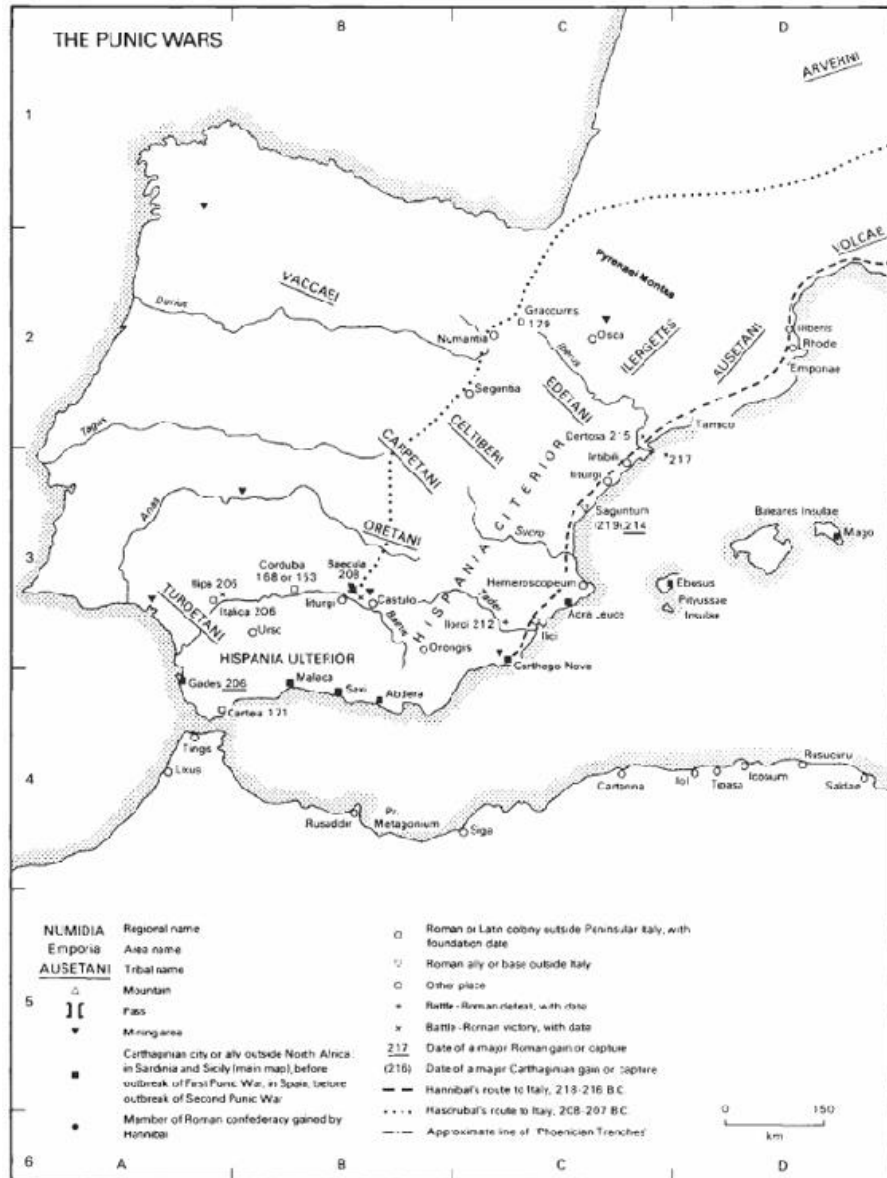
Down to 338 Rome established colonies jointly with her fellow members of the Latin League (*Priscae Latinae Coloniae*). The colonists held the citizenship of their new community, which was a Latin city like any existing League member. After the League's dissolution, Rome continued to found similar colonies (as first at Cales in 334), which

likewise possessed Latin status, although the settlers were no longer necessarily Latin by origin, nor were such colonies sited within the geo-graphical area of Latium. These communities (*Coloniae Latinae*) often consisted of some 4,000 families. Rome also founded 'citizen' colonies (*Coloniae civium Romanorum*), whose inhabitants retained Roman citizenship: these were much smaller, with only 300 families, who were allotted tiny plots of land. They are often referred to as 'maritime' or 'coastguard' colonies, since their function was to protect coasts. After the second Punic war, with more confiscated land available, and a higher value set on Roman citizenship, citizen colonies of a new type came to be established: they were sited inland, and larger, with several thousand settlers who received bigger plots. Saturnia (183) conformed to this pattern; the few Latin colonies of the second century are similar.

Foundations then ceased for over 50 years. In the Gracchan period, however, colonisation and viritane allotment—the grant of plots to individual settlers without establishing any centre—were resumed. Next, after the Social war (91–89), the nature of colonisation changed. First century programmes involved the dispatch of new settlers (often veterans) to existing communities. Where insufficient public land was available, what was required had to be bought, or was confiscated as a consequence of civil war. By this period colonisation and land settlement generally had become important forms of political patronage.

Colonies fulfilled several major functions. They were often sited at strategic points or on main lines of communication: thus Fregellae (328) controlled a crossing of the R.Liris and threatened Samnium, while Cremona and Placentia (218) thrust into Gallic territory. Colonies could be used to dominate a hostile area: Venusia (291) split up the Hirpini and Lucani after the third Samnite war. Colonial institutions and language helped the process of romanisation. Above all, colonies formed an important reserve of manpower, since land grants to the poor who were not liable for military service (*proletarii*) transformed them into *assidui* who were so liable.

THE PUNIC WARS



NUMIDIA Regional name

EMPORIA Area name

AUSETANI Tribal name

Mountain

Falls

Mingarea

Carthaginian city or ally outside North Africa in Sardinia and Sicily (main map), before outbreak of First Punic War, in Spain, before outbreak of Second Punic War

Member of Roman confederacy gained by Hannibal

Roman or Latin colony outside Peninsular Italy, with foundation date

Roman ally or base outside Italy

Other place

Battle - Roman defeat, with date

Battle - Roman victory, with date

217 Date of a major Roman gain or capture

(216) Date of a major Carthaginian gain or capture

Hannibal's route to Italy, 218-216 B.C.

Hasdrubal's route to Italy, 208-207 B.C.

Approximate line of Phoenician Trenches

0 150
km



The Punic Wars

Rome's struggle with Carthage for supremacy in the western Mediterranean was fought out in the three Punic wars of 264–41, 218–01, and 149–6. At the outbreak of the first Rome was the chief city of Italy, while Carthage, as a wealthy maritime power, dominated western Mediterranean trade in metals and other commodities, and had dependencies and trading posts in Africa, Spain, Corsica, Sardinia

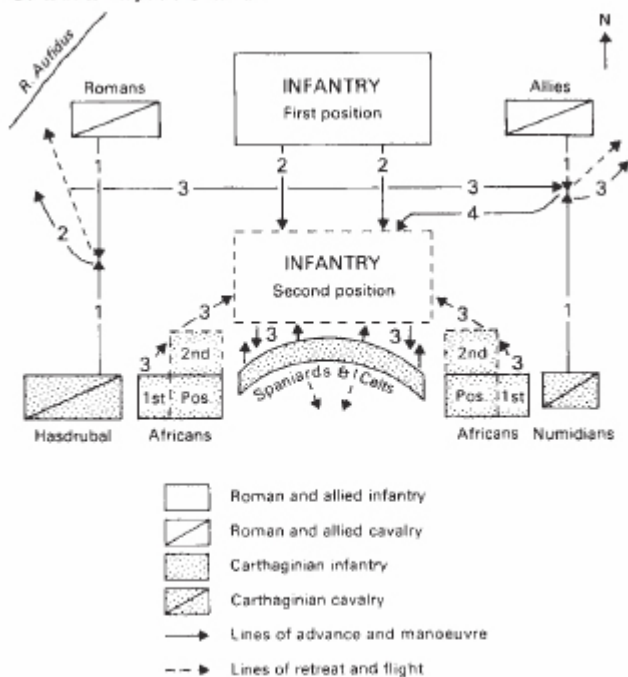
and western Sicily. The initial encounter occurred in Sicily, when Rome agreed to help the Mamertini of Messina against the Carthaginians. However her aims soon expanded to include the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the entire island. This required her to become a naval power, building ships and drawing heavily upon her own and her allies' manpower. Despite the failure of Regulus' expedition to Africa (256–5), and serious losses at sea, Rome did persist with this policy. From the Carthaginian viewpoint there was no value in continuing the struggle for Sicily indefinitely; after a defeat off the Aegates Islands in 241 Carthage therefore made peace, agreeing to evacuate Sicily and pay an indemnity. In 238 Rome next took advantage of internal difficulties at Carthage to force the cession of Sardinia too; subjugation of native populations there and in Corsica occupied much of the following decade.

The Carthaginians meanwhile concentrated on extending their empire in Spain, until they dominated the south and east coastal area from the R. Baetis to the R. Iberus (Ebro), and had some control over the tribes of the hinterland. An excuse for Rome to intervene came in 218 when Saguntum, a city friendly to her, was captured by Hannibal. He then marched swiftly upon Italy, hoping that a rapid series of successes would win over Rome's allies. He inflicted several severe defeats upon the Romans, culminating in that at Cannae in 216. Although much of southern Italy then joined Hannibal, he was nonetheless unable to undermine Rome's power base in central Italy, or to make effective use of his Gallic allies in the north.

Rome meanwhile avoided major confrontations—the so called 'Fabian' strategy, named after the general Fabius Cunctator. Moreover Roman determination to remain engaged in Spain constantly required Carthage to divert resources there, so that Hannibal never received the reinforcements which might have enabled him to force a decisive battle and break the deadlock. An alliance between Carthage and Macedon in 215 had no more than a slight diversionary effect. The turning point of the war only came in 211 with the Romans' recapture of Capua and Syracuse. It gradually became clear that despite the setbacks which Rome had suffered, Hannibal could not hold his gains in Italy in the long term. Hasdrubal's attempt to reinforce him from Spain resulted in a defeat at the R. Metaurus in 207. In 203 Hannibal finally left Italy. In the same year Scipio Africanus, who had overcome the Carthaginians in Spain between 210 and 206, began operations in Africa itself. In 202 he defeated Hannibal at Zama. Peace terms included Carthaginian evacuation of Spain, payment of a large indemnity, and rewards for Rome's African ally, Massinissa of Numidia.

Over the next 50 years Carthage continued to prosper, though her scope for territorial expansion was severely restricted. In Africa she had secure possession only of the land within the 'Phoenician Trenches', whose exact position is uncertain. Not only was the territory beyond disputed with Massinissa; Rome also tacitly encouraged him to encroach on important Carthaginian possessions such as the Emporia district. In 149, seizing the chance offered by Carthaginian hostilities against Massinissa and the voluntary surrender of Utica, Rome declared war. All the fighting took place at Carthage and in its hinterland. Punic resistance was stiff: only in 146, when the siege had been made effective by the building of walls and ditches, and by a mole blocking the harbour mouth, did the city fall to Scipio Aemilianus. It was then totally destroyed.

CANNAE, 216 B.C.



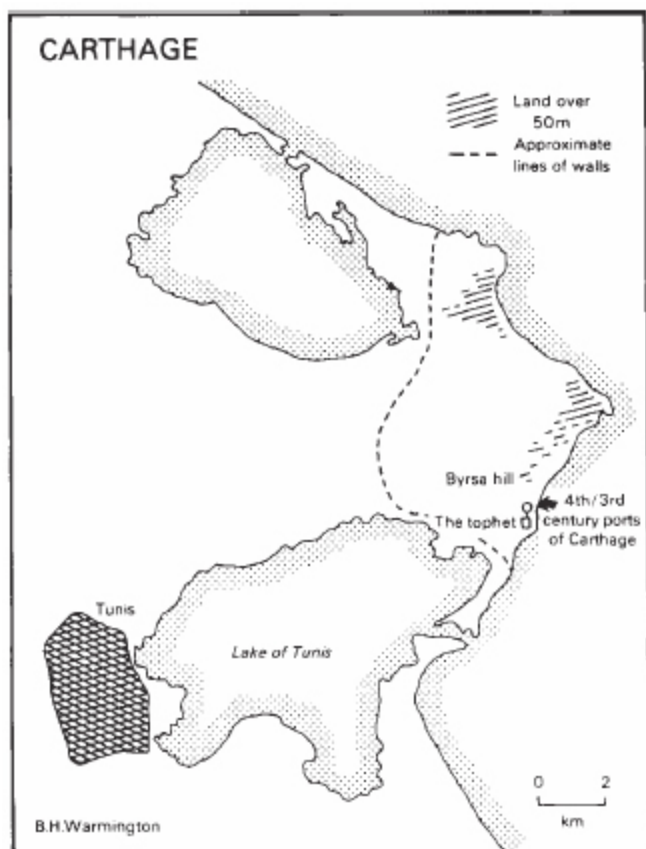
Numbers indicate the four main stages of the battle; a preliminary engagement of the light-armed advance troops of each side is not shown

C.E.Schultze

Cannae, 216 BC

The battle of Cannae was fought on 2 August 216. The terrain, on the right bank of the R.Aufidus, is fairly smooth and slopes down towards the sea. Roman and allied forces were 6,000 cavalry, 55,000 infantry,

4,000 cavalry. In the first stage Scipio placed his light armed troops to face the charge of Carthaginian elephants (1). Retreat routes were left for the troops by arranging the maniples of the three lines of Roman infantry in rows rather than in the usual chessboard formation. Meanwhile, when the cavalry on each wing engaged (1), the Carthaginians were pursued off the field. Then the front line of Roman infantry successfully attacked Hannibal's first two lines (2), who retreated to the flanks with heavy losses. While the Roman front line closed up, Scipio brought in his second and third lines, who engaged Hannibal's third-line veterans, hitherto kept in reserve (3). Finally the Roman cavalry returned from pursuit, and from the rear massacred the Carthaginians. Roman losses were slight.

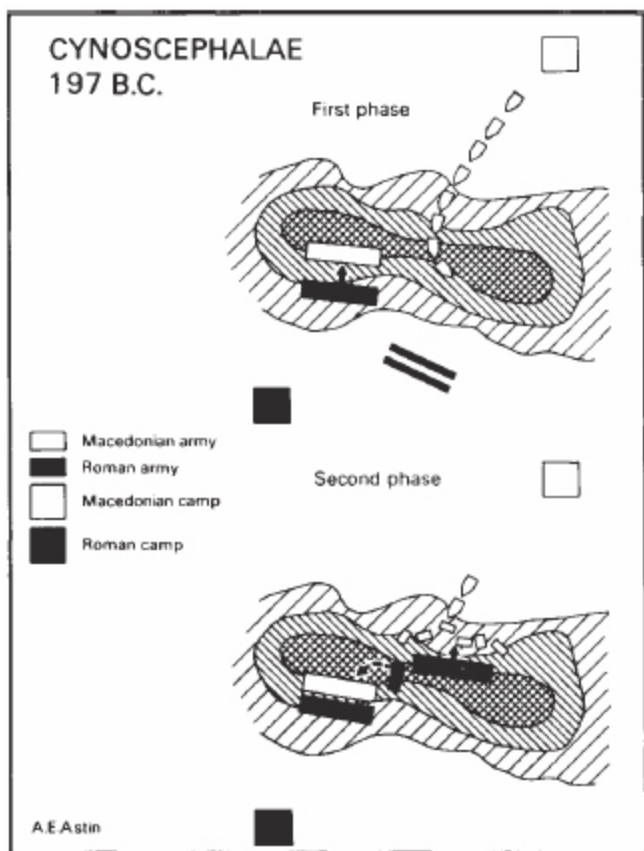


Carthage

Carthage, just north of modern Tunis, was founded by Phoenicians—in 814 BC according to tradition. It emerged as the largest Phoenician settlement in the west during struggles with the Greeks of Sicily. From

the fifth century it controlled an empire dominating the coasts of north Africa, Spain, Sardinia and western Sicily. Its wealth came from metals and agricultural trade.

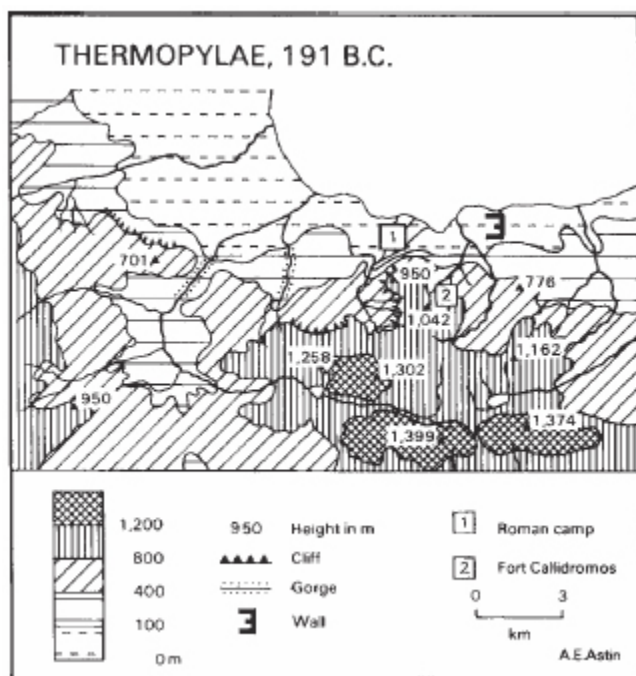
As the plan indicates, little is known of the layout of Phoenician Carthage, which was destroyed by Rome in 146 BC and then built over a century later. The original settlement has usually been located in the area of the *tophet*, or sacrificial burial ground, and the nearby hill identified with the ancient citadel known as Byrsa. Recent excavations, however, reveal that the visible Phoenician ports date from the fourth century BC at the earliest, and that the whole area including the Byrsa hill may represent a relatively late extension of an early area of settlement which has yet to be exactly located.



Cynoscephalae, 197 BC

Cynoscephalae was in southern Thessaly, near Scotussa; the exact site is unknown. The Macedonian and Roman armies, commanded

respectively by Philip V and T.Flamininus, were marching west from Pherae but were concealed from each other by hills. In wet and misty conditions Philip encamped his army and sent a covering screen to occupy a rugged ridge between him and the Romans. Flamininus, encamped south of it but uncertain of Philip's whereabouts, sent out cavalry and light armed troops to reconnoitre. A clash ensued; each side summoned reinforcements. Encouraged by news of successes, Philip now decided to deploy his main army on the ridge; meanwhile a covering action by Aetolian cavalry gave Flamininus time to draw up his army below. He at first attacked with his left flank, but it had little success against the Macedonian right. Observing that the Macedonian left had been delayed and was only beginning to move into position, Flamininus next attacked with his right, which gained the heights and routed the opposing left before it could be deployed. Part of the Roman army then wheeled round against the flank and rear of the Macedonian right, whose close-order phalanx formation was too inflexible to enable it to meet the double attack. Philip was crushingly defeated.



Thermopylae, 191 BC

To minimise the disparity between his force of little more than 10,000 and the Roman army of about 22,000, Antiochus III occupied the pass

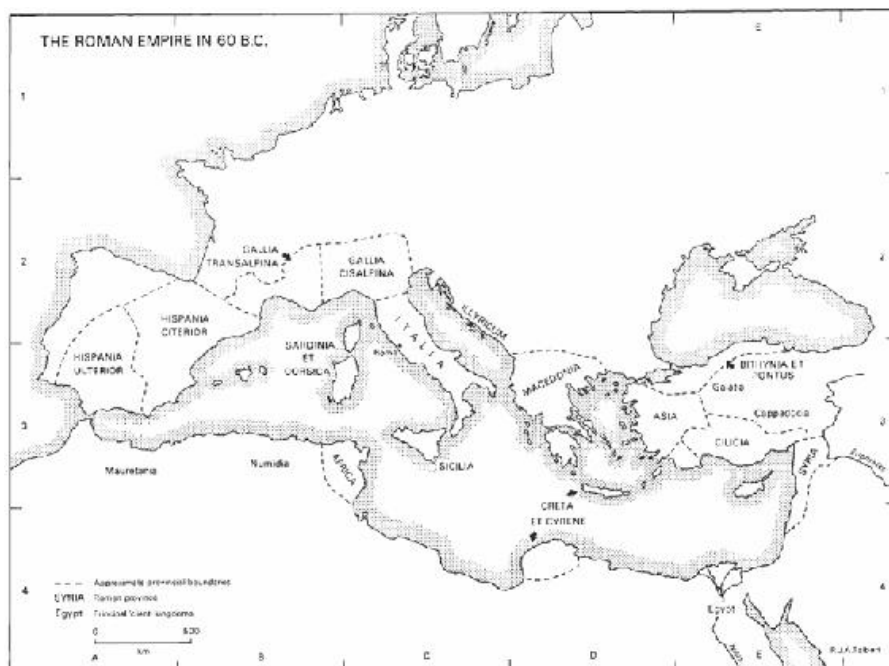
of Thermopylae. He held the so-called East Gate, where he built a substantial wall. The Romans under M'. Acilius Glabrio encamped near the hot springs. When they assaulted Antiochus' position, they were forced to narrow their front and to attack up a slope; they also suffered from missiles directed from higher ground to their right. Meanwhile, however, two Roman detachments had been sent against three forts which guarded mountain paths around the pass itself. One detachment made little progress, while the other, under M. Porcius Cato, for a time lost its way. Yet eventually Cato's 2,000 men routed the Aetolian garrison of Fort Callidromos, and then moved down behind Antiochus' line. The alarm caused by their sudden appearance soon led to a rout.

The Roman Empire in 60 BC

Rome's acquisition of an empire was a slow, haphazard process, and her involvement in its administration always remained limited. Communities continued to manage their local affairs. Not until the 220s were Rome's first gains—Sicily and Sardinia/ Corsica—organised, and arrangements made for each to become the regular, annual *provincia* (or 'sphere of action') of a praetor. Two more such praetorships were created for 'Further' and 'Nearer' Spain in 198/7. But none was added for Macedonia (whose governor also had the oversight of Achaia or southern Greece), or Africa, both annexed in 146, or for Asia, organised in the 120s, or Gallia Transalpina, to which a governor was being sent regularly by 100. It was therefore necessary for promagistrates to fill these posts, and indeed from the late second century this became the normal practice for all provincial governorships. *Provincia* now comes to have the specific connotation of an administered territory overseas. A governor was sent regularly to Gallia Cisalpina from around Sulla's time. Cyrene and Crete, annexed respectively in 74 and 67, were governed as a single province. In the 60s Pompey's eastern conquests added vast areas—Bithynia/Pontus, Cilicia and Syria.

To the end of the Republic, Rome's hold over most provinces was patchy, and their frontiers generally ill-defined. In the case of Illyricum Rome even laid claim to the coastal strip, yet seldom sent a governor. In many regions definition of frontiers had little significance when these adjoined the territories of 'client kings', local rulers recognised by Rome and willing to serve her in return for the benefits of freedom and protection. The most important such friendly states

during the late Republic (in Africa and Asia Minor) are marked.



Roman Campaigns of 49–30 BC

After he had crossed the R. Rubicon into Italy in January 49 it took Julius Caesar five years of intermittent campaigning to achieve control of the Roman world. He gained Italy itself in two months, since a Pompeian stand at Corfinium proved short lived. However Pompey, with further forces, escaped to Greece via Brundisium. Because Caesar lacked a fleet, he delayed pursuit, and instead turned west to Spain where he brilliantly dislodged superior Pompeian forces from an entrenched position at Ilerda, and then marched south to accept the surrender of Corduba. Massilia, too, yielded after a five months' blockade, and a threatened mutiny of four legions at Placentia was swiftly averted.

In 48 Caesar crossed to Epirus. After a blockade of Pompey's army at Dyrrhachium had failed, he made for Thessaly, where he routed the superior enemy forces at Pharsalus (see p. 105). Pompey fled to Egypt, only to be assassinated on arrival there. Caesar followed, but roused such hostility by his plan to gain control of Egypt, that he found himself besieged in the palace quarters of Alexandria during winter 48/7, and was only able to recover the situation in spring 47, when

Ptolemy XIII was defeated and Cleopatra (now Caesar's mistress) was made effective ruler. Soon afterwards he dashed to crush the imminent threat to Asia Minor posed by Pharnaces of Bosphorus, which he accomplished in a lightning five days' campaign at Zela.

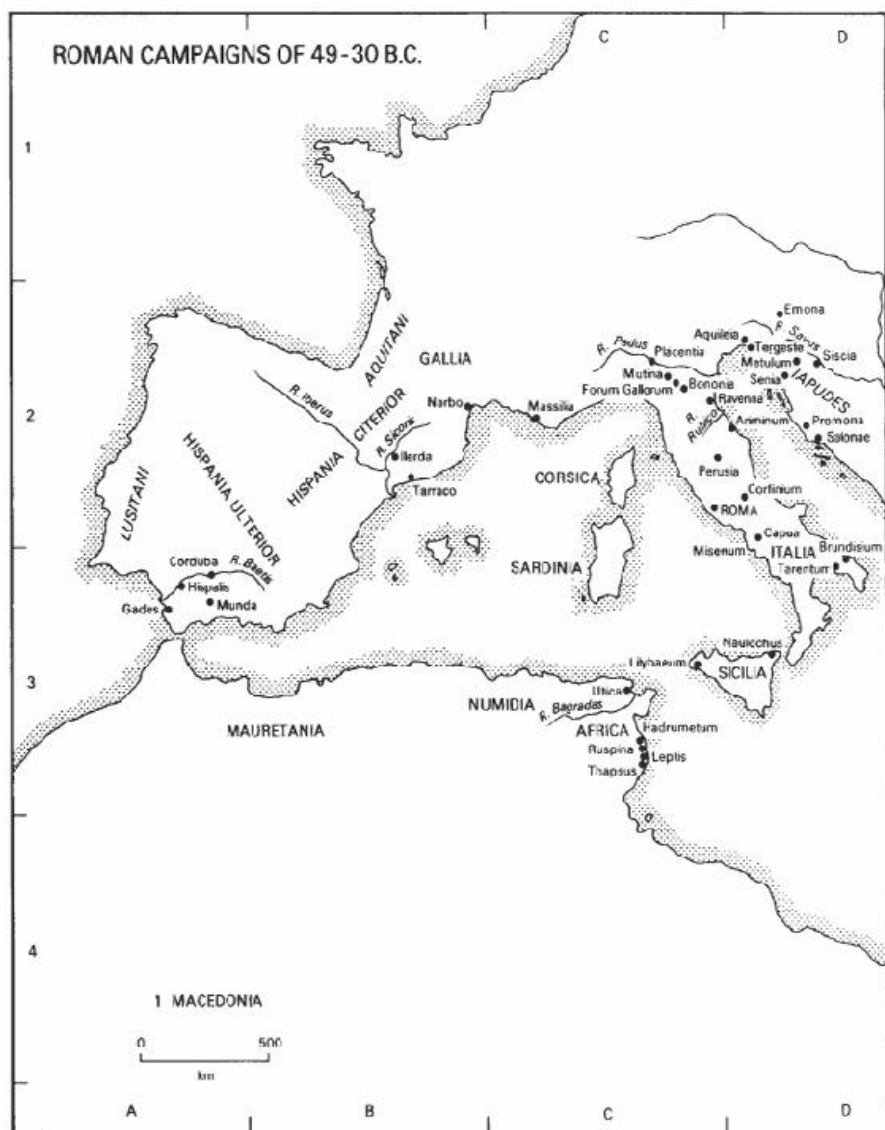
After some months in Italy Caesar returned to campaigning in late 47, since Pompeian forces in Africa, supported by King Juba of Numidia, had grown alarmingly in strength. Caesar risked a winter campaign to crush them, and after early difficulties at Ruspina did so successfully within four months. The final battle, at Thapsus, turned into a massacre. Pompey's sons, however, regrouped their forces in southern Spain, where Caesar faced them in March 45. The battle at Munda was his hardest won victory, but its outcome proved decisive. Pompeian casualties were heavy, and of the leaders only Sextus Pompeius survived. The campaigns against Dacia and Parthia planned by Caesar for 44 were forestalled by his assassination.

After the dictator's death civil war resumed, this time between his supporters and his assassins. In 43 heavy fighting occurred in Cisalpine Gaul, where the governor, Decimus Brutus, was first besieged in Mutina by Antony; the latter was then defeated by the forces of the consuls and Octavian at both Forum Gallorum and Bononia. However, Antony, Octavian and Lepidus came together to form the Second Triumvirate. Meanwhile the assassins M.Brutus and Cassius consolidated their hold on the east, but were faced and beaten by Antony and Octavian in two successive battles at Philippi in October 42. Thereafter Octavian in the west had to besiege Perusia in the course of unrest during the winter of 41/40. Elimination of S. Pompeius—a formidable opponent—was his next pressing difficulty. Only when his fleet had been strengthened by Agrippa, did he eventually defeat Pompeius at Naulochus in 36. His campaigns in Illyricum between 35 and 33 were intended to safeguard north east Italy.

In the east Antony, who joined himself to Cleopatra, was faced by two crises. An Illyrian tribe, the Parthini, was invading Macedonia, while further east the Parthians were overrunning Syria and threatening Asia Minor. By the end of 39 Antony's lieutenants had beaten back all these incursions. But his own retaliatory campaign through Armenia into Parthia in 36 was a disaster. He failed to capture Phraaspa, capital of Media Atropatene, and could not shake off Parthian harassment. An invasion confined to Armenia in 34 was more successful; Roman control there lasted two years.

Deteriorating relations between Octavian and Antony led to war in 31.

Antony advanced to Greece, where he was defeated in land and sea operations at Actium. Having fled back to Egypt, he was pursued there by Octavian the following year. He and Cleopatra committed suicide, leaving Octavian master of the Roman world.





Pharsalus, 48 BC

The site of the battle is disputed. For all its detail our main account, that of Caesar (*Civil War* 3.82–99), remains topographically vague enough for it to be unclear how close to the town the armies met, or on which side of the R. Enipeus. This plan assumes a site north of the river, 12 km or so north west of the town. Its main aim, however, is to show the general development of the battle, which is not greatly in doubt. Over several days Pompey's army, secure on high ground, was repeatedly challenged to battle by Caesar, who each time moved

closer. As it happened, only at the point when Caesar had decided to abandon his attempt and move off, did Pompey unexpectedly respond. With his right flank protected by the river, he intended that on the left his superior cavalry, followed by slingers and archers, should attack Caesar's lines in the flank and rear, while his infantry (which also outnumbered those of Caesar) would resolutely stand their ground when the enemy advanced. Caesar's reactions were to ensure that when his front two lines (only) charged, they did not over-tax themselves; and to place eight cohorts obliquely behind his cavalry and right flank. These not only surprised and broke the charge of Pompey's cavalry, slingers and archers, but also then outflanked the enemy, who were put under intolerable pressure as Caesar now threw his third line into the battle. Pompey's army was scattered.

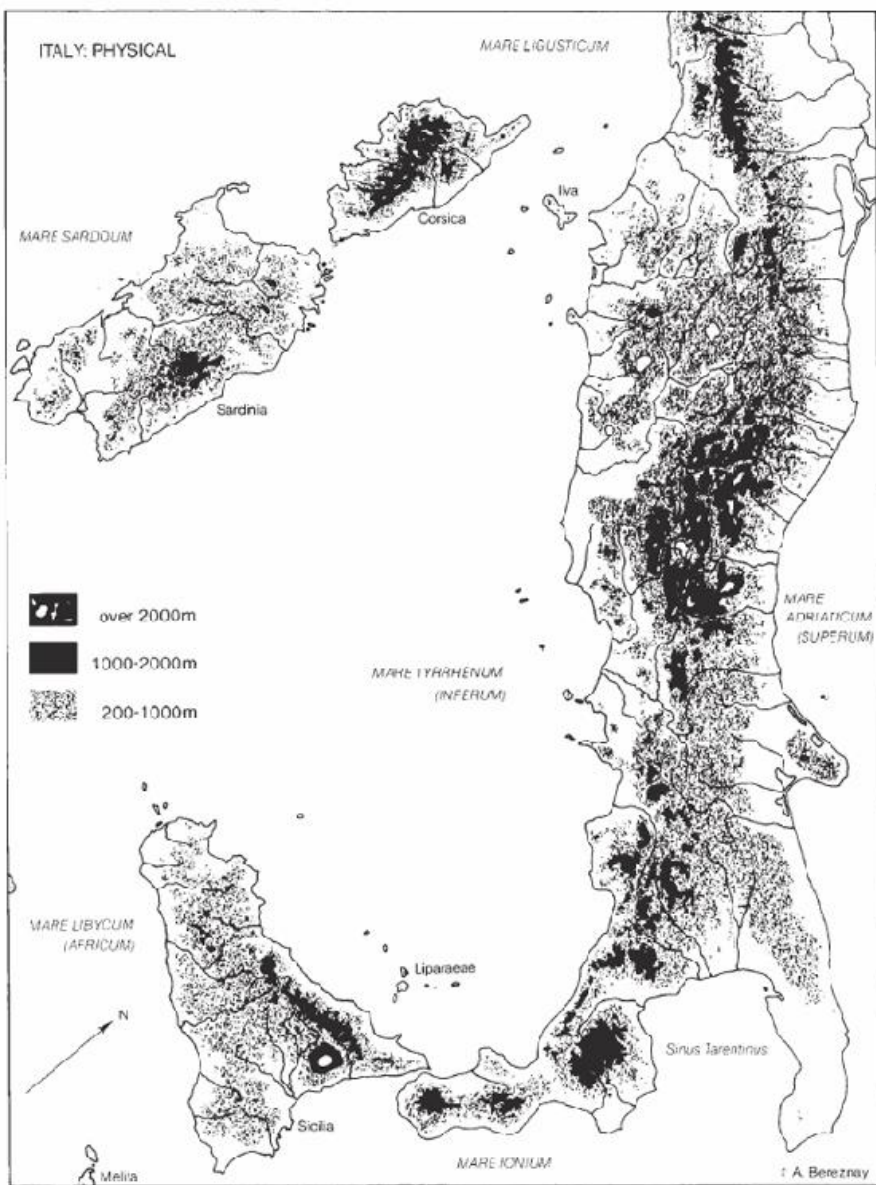


Augusta Praetoria

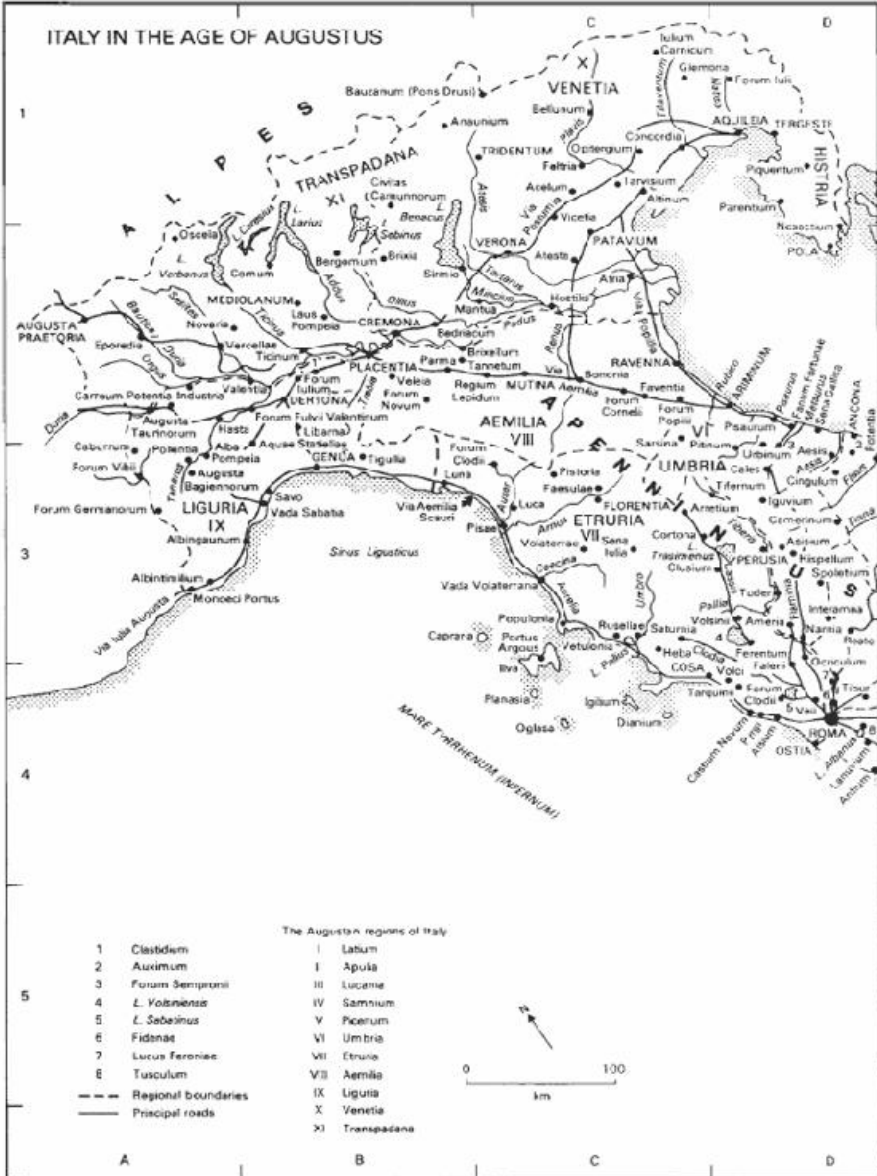
Augusta Praetoria was founded in 25 BC as a military *colonia* designed to guard the Alpine passes of Great and Little St Bernard to the north and west respectively. The town was thus strongly protected. Its walls stood over 10 metres high and were heavily buttressed along the inner face, a highly unusual feature. In addition there were 20 square towers and four gates. These defences—still preserved in large part—enclosed a military-style rectangle, 724 × 572 metres, which was divided into 16 main building blocks and many other subdivisions. Much of this street plan is fossilised in the present-day layout. What is likely to have been the Capitolium has been identified in the northern

part of the town, as have a covered theatre, or *odeon*, and an amphitheatre notable for its location inside the walls. Despite the traditional identification, the forum is most likely to have lain at the centre of the town. There are traces of public baths; however, few details of private housing have yet been uncovered. Some distance to the east of the town a bridge over the R.Buthier and the arch of Augustus are both still well preserved. Originally settled by 3,000 Praetorians, Augusta was never very large; but its continued strategic role is clearly highlighted by an unbroken sequence of occupation from antiquity to the present day.

ITALY: PHYSICAL

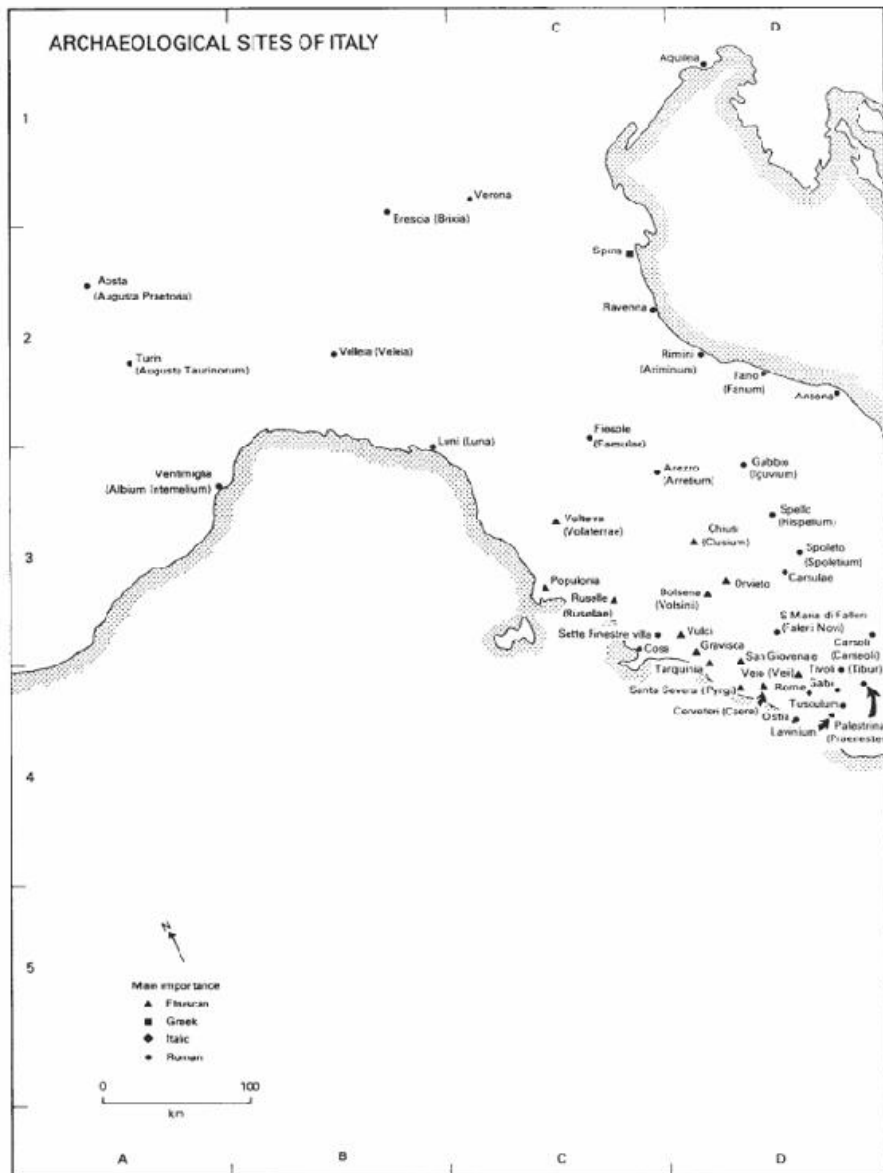


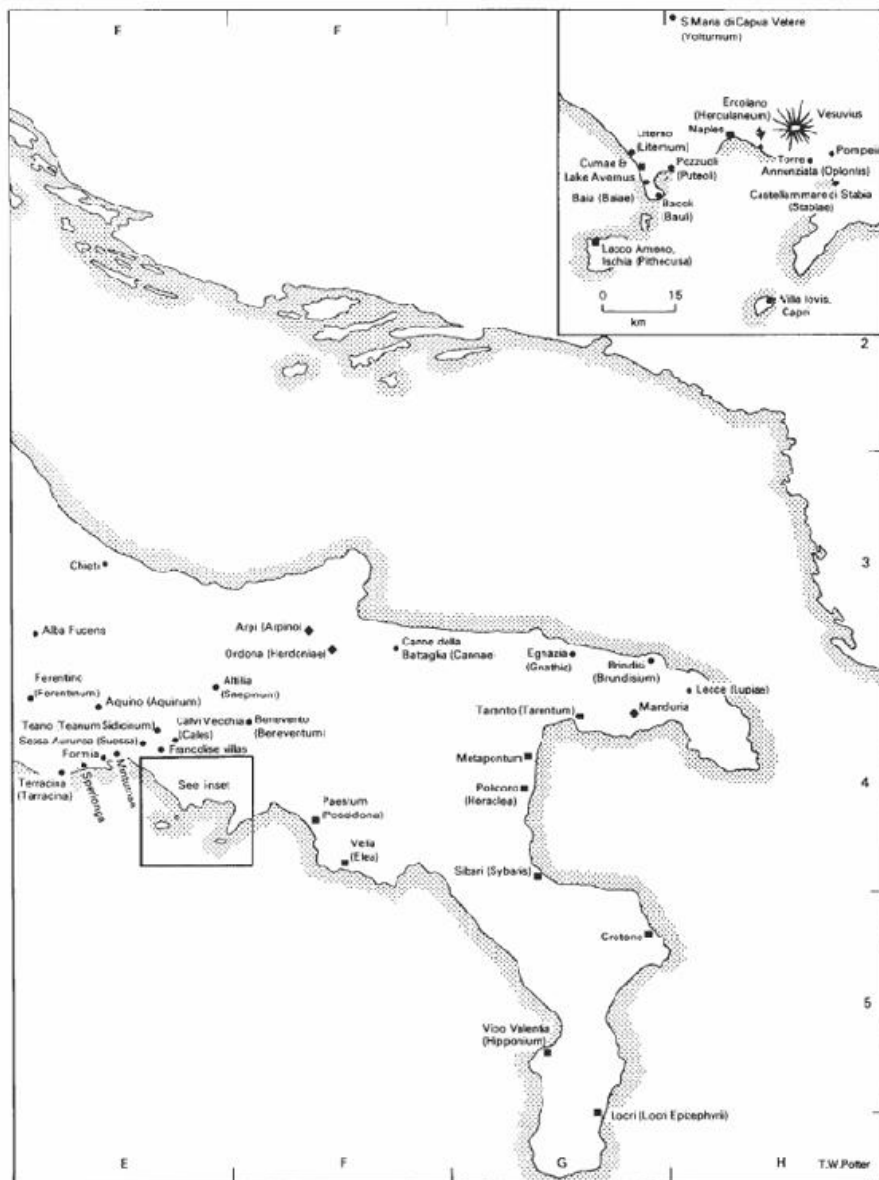
ITALY IN THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS





ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF ITALY





Archaeological Sites of Italy

Italy is conspicuously rich in archaeological sites of almost every period. Moreover, many are quite astonishingly well preserved, in particular the immensely durable concrete structures of the later Republican and imperial periods. Even so, a great many more sites (notably villas and farms) remain to be discovered. This at least is clear from current programmes of systematic field survey, which aim

to map all surface traces of sites, so as to record entire landscapes of antiquity. The technique has been particularly successful to the north of Rome, where over 1,000 sq km have been studied in this way.

Of course thousands of sites have also been examined through excavation, even if there is no site that can be said to have been completely uncovered. The map lists a selection of the more important, particularly (although not exclusively) those where there are still visible remains. Most are town sites with long histories, in many cases extending back well into the first millennium BC. Equally, a significant number remains in occupation down to the present day, underlining the care with which their locations were originally chosen. However, it is useful to draw attention to the most important period in a site's history, and for this reason four main groups have been distinguished.

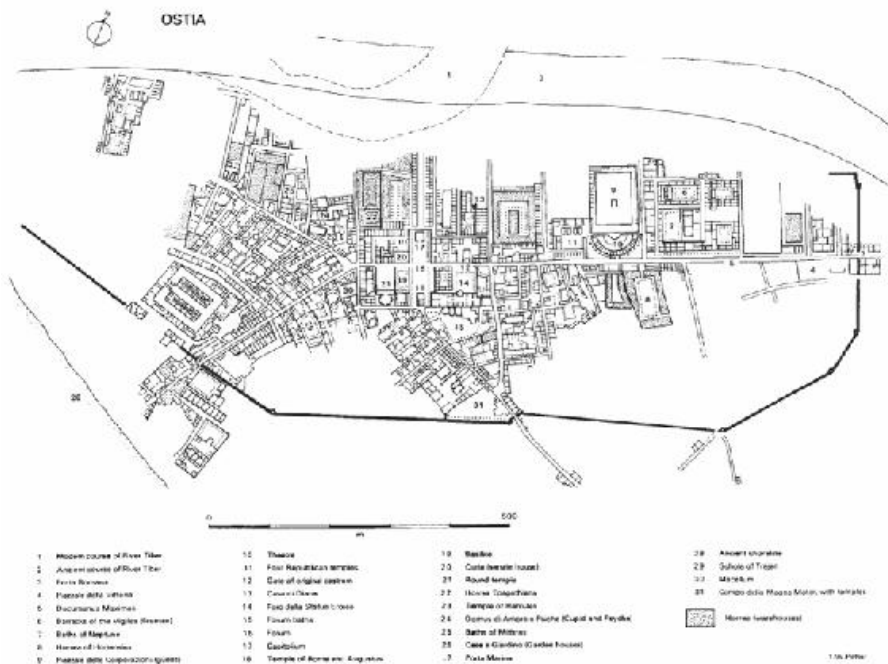
The first includes the Etruscan cities and their cemeteries, most of which came into being early in the first millennium BC. Until very recently archaeological work has tended to concentrate upon the religious sanctuaries (e.g. Pyrgi, Gravisca) and the cemeteries—vivid indices of the wealth and widespread contacts of the Etruscans. Yet the unplanned growth of all but a few cities is nonetheless manifest from work at Veii, Rusellae and elsewhere. The second group comprises the Greek colonies of southern Italy, the oldest of which was at Pithecusa on the island of Ischia, founded c. 775 BC. Experiments in town planning are evident at many early sites such as Metapontum and Paestum: these were to provide Rome with a model to adapt when founding new settlements. Many of the sites conserve outstanding remains, although often, as at Sybaris or Paestum, there is a heavy overlay of Roman buildings. Thirdly, there are town sites of the Italic tribes, such as the Daunian city of Arpino (Arpi), or the Messapian centre of Manduria. Many of the more important of these settlements were to take on a significant role in the Roman urban network.

Finally, there are the Roman sites themselves. These fall into three main subdivisions. First, towns which developed out of older settlements, such as Pompeii and Herculaneum. Second, new foundations, many of which were colonies, like Cosa, Luni, or Aosta; Augustus records founding 28 colonies in Italy. Third, sites of the countryside, among them farms, sanctuaries and villas. The latter vary widely. They range from great mansions such as Tiberius' Villa Iovis on the island of Capri to elaborate, but nevertheless functional, complexes such as the Sette Finestre villa near Cosa. Most were in fact the centres of farming estates, and varied in size and magnificence

according to the wealth of the owner. Increasingly, like the towns, they are being scientifically excavated, so that our knowledge of the layout, function and history of many sites should be transformed in the years ahead.

Ostia

The harbour town of Ostia occupied low-lying ground 25 km south west of Rome, close to the mouth of the R.Tiber. Its irregular plan displays a long history of growth and rebuilding. Ostia was originally a military *castrum*, just over two hectares in extent, located in the central part of the later town. The *decumanus maximus* ran through the *castrum*, the east gate of which can still be seen. Probably because of a greatly increased level of trade, the town was much expanded early in the first century BC to a size of some 63 hectares, and the existing walls were constructed. Certainly Ostia grew to be most prosperous, as its wealth of public monuments shows. There was a very long forum with temples at either end, while the magnificent Piazzale delle Corporazioni housed 61 offices—mostly with appropriate advertising in the mosaic floors—of various local and overseas traders. As the map shows, huge warehouses for the storage of grain, wine, oil and other goods became commonplace, and no less than 18 sets of baths have been identified—compared with three at Pompeii. The building work entailed considerable replanning of some quarters of the town, epitomised, for example, by the orderly layout of the streets to the north east. Ostia is perhaps best known for its *insulae*, or great apartment blocks, which probably rose to a total height of 60 Roman feet. The development of such housing—which must have been typical of Rome and no doubt of many other Italian towns—is only represented on a small scale at Pompeii and Herculaneum, since both were fossilised by the volcanic eruption of AD 79; this trend in domestic housing only became well established later. Some more elaborate houses are known at Ostia, but they are very much the exception.



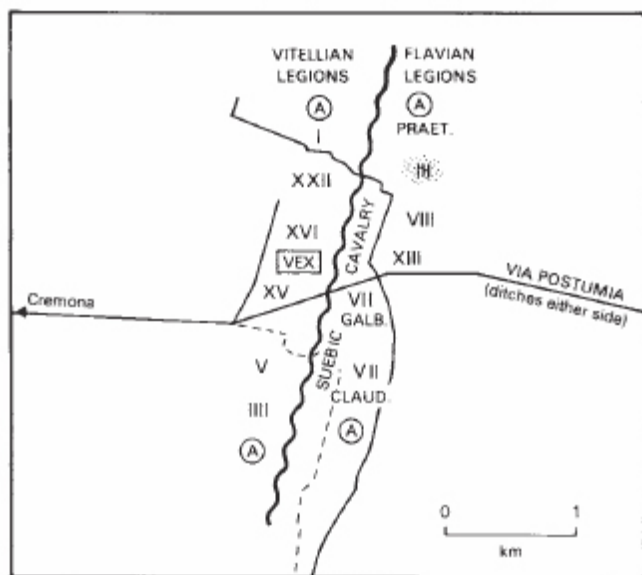
In AD 42 work was begun on the construction of a huge new harbour, four km to the north west. Silting created grave problems, however, and under Trajan a second, hexagonal harbour was built. This new commercial centre soon became the focus of warehouses, domestic buildings and even a so-called imperial palace. Eventually to be known as Portus, the port area gradually increased in importance, eclipsing the old city's commercial role. This was recognised in an edict of 314, when Ostia was stripped of its municipal rights and began slowly to be abandoned.

Second Battle of Cremona, AD 69

This crucial battle between the partisans of Vitellius and Vespasian in the Year of the Four Emperors was fought on the flat, rich plain about eight km east of Cremona during the night of 24/5 October 69. The account of Tacitus (*Histories* 3.15–25), together with the preservation of Roman centuriation, makes it possible to identify the site with some accuracy. The battle was a heroic feat of endurance for both sides. Though the Flavian troops had already been stretched—the cavalry by clashes with squadrons from the Vitellian garrison in Cremona, the infantry by a long march—there was a demand by late afternoon for

an immediate assault, which the commander, Antonius Primus, only prevented with great difficulty. He did prepare for battle, however, on receiving news that the garrison had just been substantially swelled to 35,000 legionaries (against his own 25,000) by a force which had dashed 100 miles in five days, yet was equally eager to do battle at once. Antonius chose his ground astride the Via Postumia, and the Vitellians, led by F.Fabullus, rashly risked a night encounter. Throughout, the fighting was bitter, confused, indecisive. But once the moon rose (by 10 p.m.), the Flavians gained some advantage from its light, and by dawn a rumour, albeit groundless, that they were being reinforced gave the final impetus for a successful thrust towards Cremona.

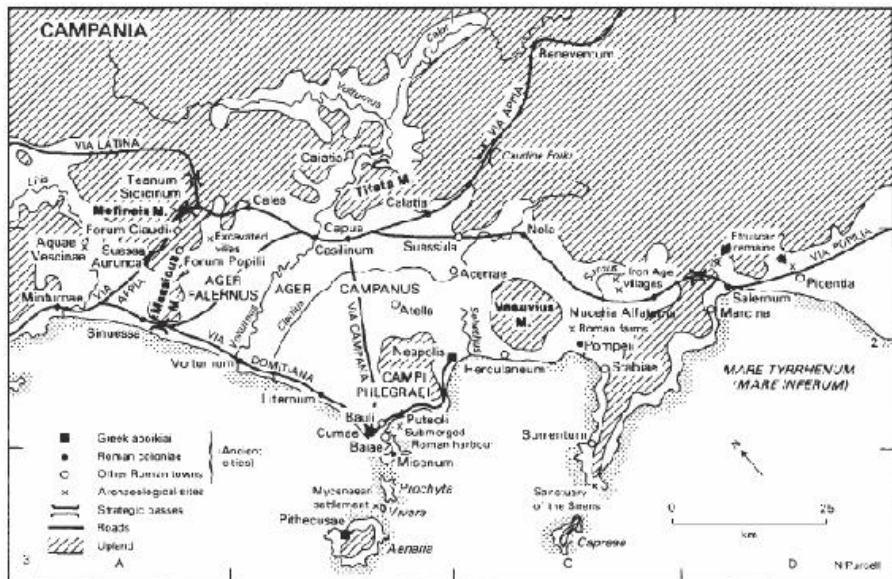
SECOND BATTLE OF CREMONA, A.D. 69



- Roads
- - - Steep drainage ditch
- • • Plantation of trees
- ~ ~ ~ Approximate line of clash
- PRAET. Contingent of ex-Praetorian guardsmen

- (A) Auxiliary units Cavalry, too, were deployed to protect the flanks and rear of both sides
- VEX Vexillations, or detachments, from Legions II, IX, XX. Others from Legions Rapax and Italica were also interspersed along the Vitellian line

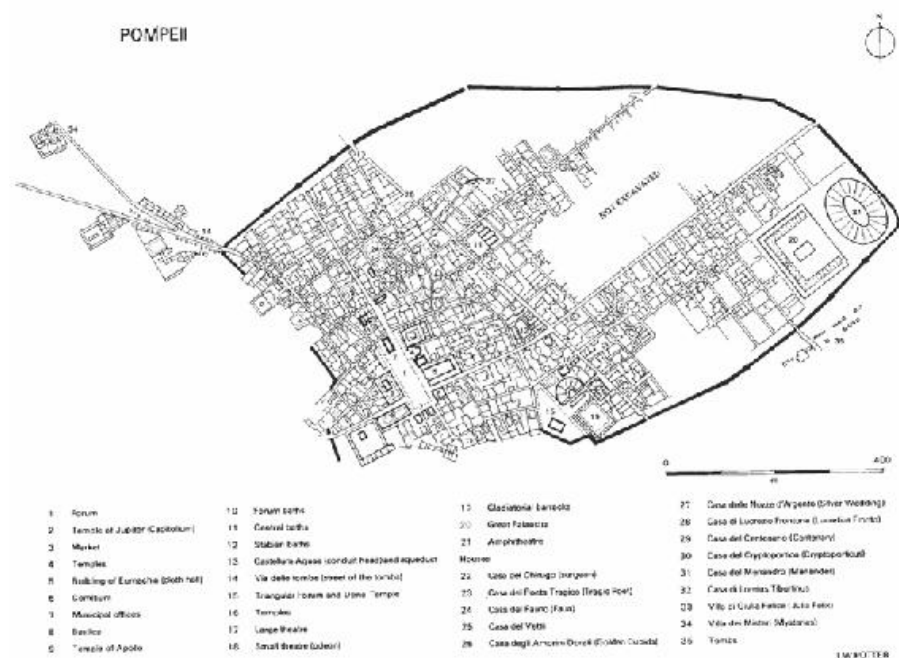
R.J.A. Talbot



Campania

The distinctive physical geography of Campania is immediately apparent from the map. The high limestone ridges of the Apennines and their outliers surround a series of low-lying plains. While easily accessible from one another, these are broken up by Mount Vesuvius and the volcanic hills of the Campi Phlegraici ('Burning Fields'), as well as by extensive areas of intractable marshland along the rivers. For the rest, the land is extremely fertile: thus it was not only the most highly prized, but also some of the most intensively exploited arable terrain of ancient Italy. Capua (near modern Caserta) was one of the most important settlements of the region throughout antiquity; its central position is plain. Other towns which controlled access to the region also grew dramatically: Teanum and Nuceria at mountain passes; Sinuessa, Cumae, Puteoli and Pompeii as harbour towns. Although the relations between coast and interior were always close, the separation of the harbours from the plains by hill or marsh assisted a certain cultural divergence. Despite the predominance of Etruscan and local cultures inland, the Greek colonies of the coast kept their distinctive character; even widespread penetration by Oscan speakers at the end of the fifth century did not end this situation. Most notably Puteoli and Neapolis, assisted by the tenacious links of the Campanian ports with the eastern Mediterranean, retained many Hellenic characteristics to the end of the Roman empire. This Hellenism, added to the advantages of wealth, populousness and great natural beauty, attracted the wealthy of Rome to such an extent that

the Bay of Naples, and Baiae in particular, became a notorious playground of the elite. Eventually, as tectonic activity drowned the pleasure palaces and the harbour works, and as the draining of the Sebethus and Clanius marshes improved communications with the interior, Neapolis succeeded Puteoli as the chief city of the area. Modern Naples enjoys the same primacy today.



Pompeii

Pompeii was the leading city and port of the southern part of the bay of Naples, measuring some $1,200 \times 720$ metres within its walls. Roughly two-thirds of the site has been liberated from the thick mantle of volcanic deposits which enveloped it in August AD 79. Like any city, Pompeii contains buildings of many different centuries. The oldest is a Greek Doric temple of the sixth century BC, part of an early nucleus underlying the forum area; but most structures belong to the second century BC and later.

There are three main areas of public buildings. First, the unusually long forum—with a Corinthian temple, the Capitolium, at one end. Around were more temples, a cloth hall, the judicial basilica, a market, and three other halls (municipal offices?). Then to the east lay the triangular forum with its Doric temple; nearby were the Greek

theatre and a small covered theatre, as well as a temple of Isis. Finally, at the town's eastern edge, were the amphitheatre of c. 80 BC and the Great Palaestra, a large enclosure surrounding a swimming pool. There were three sets of public baths, of which the central one was unfinished in 79. All were supplied by an aqueduct, from which water passed through lead pipes. The aqueduct also fed private baths and the innumerable fountains, whose overflow was used to wash down the streets and sewers. Houses varied considerably in scale, from one-room shops with a room above, to palatial, elaborately decorated residences. The layout of most of the latter is that described by the architect Vitruvius, with a roofed *atrium* containing a central opening to collect rainwater in a cistern below; and a peristyle, a garden court, surrounded by a colonnade.

Pompeii was a busy city which became prosperous through trade and agriculture, though it also developed industries like the production of lava millstones, cloth and fish sauce. By 79, with a population of some 20,000, it was expanding considerably, particularly westwards, where sections of the old town walls became obliterated.

Herculaneum

Partly because Herculaneum is buried beneath no less than 15 metres of volcanic mud, only a relatively small part of the city has been excavated. Nonetheless it would seem to have been quite modest in size, perhaps measuring 320×370 metres. The population may have numbered about 5,000. The preservation of organic materials like wood is excellent, and many of the buildings have yielded an extraordinary quantity of detailed information. The *decumani* (east-west streets) and the *cardines* (north-south streets) divide the city into blocks or *insulae*. To the north was a particularly wide *decumanus*, closed off to vehicular traffic, which may have served as the forum. The basilica is thought to lie on the north side of the *decumanus maximus*, while to the east was a palaestra with a large pool at the centre of the peristyle court. A theatre is also known from the old excavations in the north west area, and there were public baths nearby.

Herculaneum is at least as old as the sixth century, but the visible remains of the houses belong mainly to the latter centuries of the Republic. Many are laid out around an *atrium*, in the Italic style, but there is considerable variation in plan. Some have porticoes in front,

while a great many possessed a second or even a third storey. Attached to the houses were shops selling wine, grain, metal-work, glassware and other commodities; one even conserves its painted sign. To the south, at the extremity of the early city, were some much grander houses, with peristyles, gardens and other rooms, giving a panoramic view over the sea. They belong mainly to the Augustan period and later. Beyond was an extensive complex of baths and various religious buildings. These splendid structures, with their fine statues and paintings, underline the affluence and high rank of many families who owned property in Herculaneum.

HERCULANEUM



- 1 Basilica
- 2 Decumenes maximus (forum)
- 3 Meeting place of the priests of the cult of Augustus
- 4 Hall
- 5 Palatine
- 6 Baths
- 7 Suburban baths
- 8 Sacred area
- 9 Funerary altar to Nerius Ballus
- 10 Bakery (patrum)
- 11 Street with shops & workshops along the east side

- Main houses (case)
- 12 Casa del tramezzino in legno (wooden partition)
 - 13 Casa del scheletro (skeleton)
 - 14 Casa del albergo (hotel)
 - 15 Casa del bicentenario (bicentenary)
 - 16 Casa del mosaico di Nettuno e Anfione (mosaic of Neptune & Amphitrite)
 - 17 Casa del mobilio carbonizzato (carbonised furniture)
 - 18 Casa Sannitica (Sannite house)
 - 19 Casa del atrio mosaico (mosaic atrium)
 - 20 Casa dei Cerri (stags)
 - 21 Casa del rilievo di Telefo (relief of Telephus)
 - 22 Casa della gemma (gem)

T.W. Potter



Italian Towns with Alimentary Schemes

Alimentary schemes (*alimenta*) for the support of children are known from the mid-first century AD onwards. Private benefactors took the initiative in the first instance, but Nerva and Trajan came to sponsor a major state programme throughout Italy, best documented in substantial records from Veleia and Ligures Baebiani. The state offered

capital, though in all other respects its schemes were locally based in each participating community, and designed to operate with the minimum of future adjustment. The larger local landowners accepted from the state perpetual loans amounting to approximately 8 per cent of the value of their property; the interest paid at the low rate of 5 per cent furnished the modest monthly support grants. The method by which the children to benefit from the schemes were chosen is unknown. They are certainly unlikely to have been orphans, yet the assumption that they would always be from the poorest families is unwarranted. While the state programme was definitely not initiated in order to provide smaller landowners with working capital (as has been claimed), its real aims remain obscure: arguably these were a mixture of philanthropy and concern for a supposed population decline which might affect legionary recruitment. State *alimenta* were perhaps extended a little by later second-century emperors and continued in existence into the third century. At best their usefulness was only ever limited.

Evidence for *alimenta* is almost exclusively epigraphic. While the spread of the 50 or so communities from which relevant indications have emerged (references to a local *quaestor alimentorum* and the like) may reflect little beyond the random survival of this material, there must still be a suspicion that the state scheme was hardly extended to the remoter or poorer areas of the peninsula. Evidence for private schemes is slight, although the arrangements for one set up by Pliny at Comum are described in his *Letters* (7.18).

Key to P. 121: Temples 1. Divus Traianus. 2. Mars Ultor. 3. Venus Genitrix. 4. Minerva. 5. Vediovis. 6. Concordia. 7. Divus Vespasianus. 8. Saturnus. 9. Ianus? 10. Castores. 11. Divus Iulius. 12. Divus Antoninus. 13. Vesta. 14. Iuturna. 15. Penates (the form indicated is post-Caracallan). 16. Iuturna or Iuno Curritis. 17. Fortuna Huiusce Diei. 18. Feronia. 19. Lares Permarini. 20. Hercules Musarum. 21. Iuppiter Stator. 22. Iuno Regina. 23. Apollo Sosianus. 24. Bellona. 25. Iuppiter Tonans. 26. Fortuna Primigenia. 27. Iuppiter Victor. 28. Apollo Palatinus. 29. Ianus. 30. Spes. 31. Iuno Sospita. 32. Fortuna. 33. Mater Matuta. Other temples are indicated by the name of the deity worshipped there. *Other monuments* 34. Porticus Vipsania or Minucia? 35. Markets of Trajan. 36. Unidentified porticus. 37. Libraries and column of Trajan. 38. Tabularium. 39. Curia. 40. Regia. 41. Porticus Minucia? Templum Nympharum? 42. Ara Gentis Iuliae? 43. Unidentified porticus. 44. Market-building of Forum Holitorium. 45. Houses of Augustus and his family. 46. Palatine libraries. 47. Site of the later basilica of Maxentius.

Rome in the Age of the Severi

The orientation of the map is based on that of the Marble Plan of the city which was set up in the early third century AD and survives in fragments. The Aurelian Walls of 271–5 are indicated faintly as a guide to the later topography. The map is intended to show not so much architectural detail, but rather the overall layout of the imperial city and its main topographical centres and regions, as well as the principal morphological zones, in so far as they can be reconstructed.

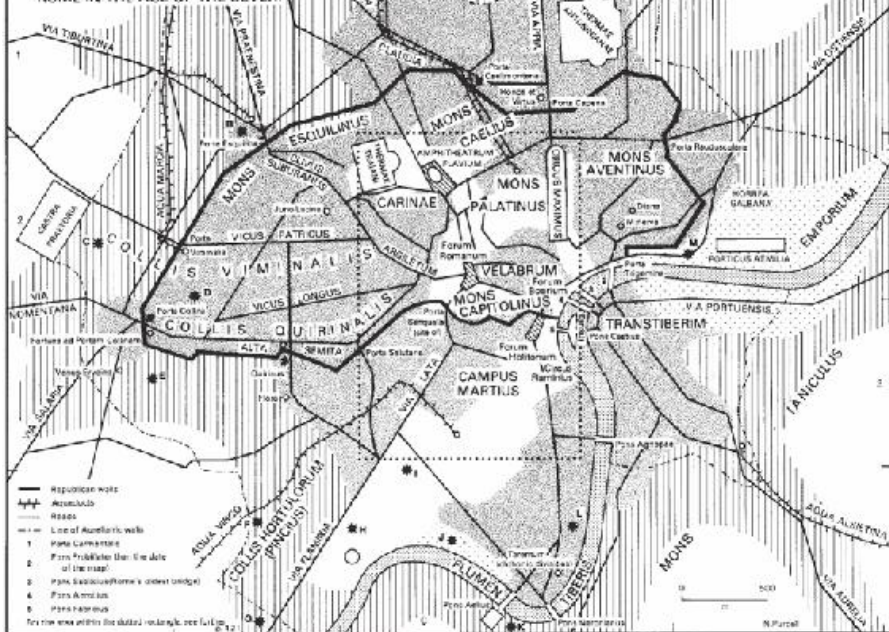
periphery. It, too, was quite densely populated, and was considered by Romans to be part of the built-up area or *continentia aedificia*. Here the suburban mansions (*horti*) of the emperor and the very wealthy jostled with aqueducts, tombs, market gardens and some *insulae*. *Stippled* are the commercial zones beside the river. Certain prominent sacred buildings are indicated by a small circle. In addition a star indicates some important aspect of the city's layout:

- A. The Lateran. Luxury villas here were confiscated under Nero and destroyed to make room for the barracks of the imperial *equites singulares* or mounted bodyguard; subsequently the site of the cathedral of Rome under Constantine.
- B. Campus Esquilinus, with grove of Libitina, goddess of funerals. Place for public executions and paupers' cemetery, partly improved (by Maecenas in particular) to form lavish suburban estates.
- C. Camp (marked) and parade ground of the Praetorian Guard.
- D. Area later occupied by the Baths of Diocletian.
- E. Horti Sallustiani, enormous suburban palace which soon became one of the most important imperial properties.
- F. Horti Luculliani, most lavish of all the suburban villas, and also an imperial estate.
- G. Tombs and villas on the Via Flaminia, including the tomb of Nero.
- H. Mausoleum of Augustus (circle marked), Ara Pacis Augustae, giant sundial of Augustus and the park which linked them.
- I. Funerary monuments of the Antonine emperors.
- J. Ad Ciconias Nixas, the upstream river-harbour of the city, and the principal wine wharves.
- K. Mausoleum of Hadrian (marked) and the wealthy suburb of the Ager Vaticanus. Race-track of Caligula and Nero, naval arena of Augustus, and paupers' cemetery with strong religious associations for Christians and followers of Phrygian cults.
- L. Trigarium, practice horse-race track, with the stables of the circus factions nearby. This area was still suburban in the late Republic but was built up by the Severan period; it later became the centre of medieval Rome.
- M. Main river harbour of Rome, which spread downstream from the Forum Boarium from the second century BC onwards.

THE ENVIRONS OF IMPERIAL ROME

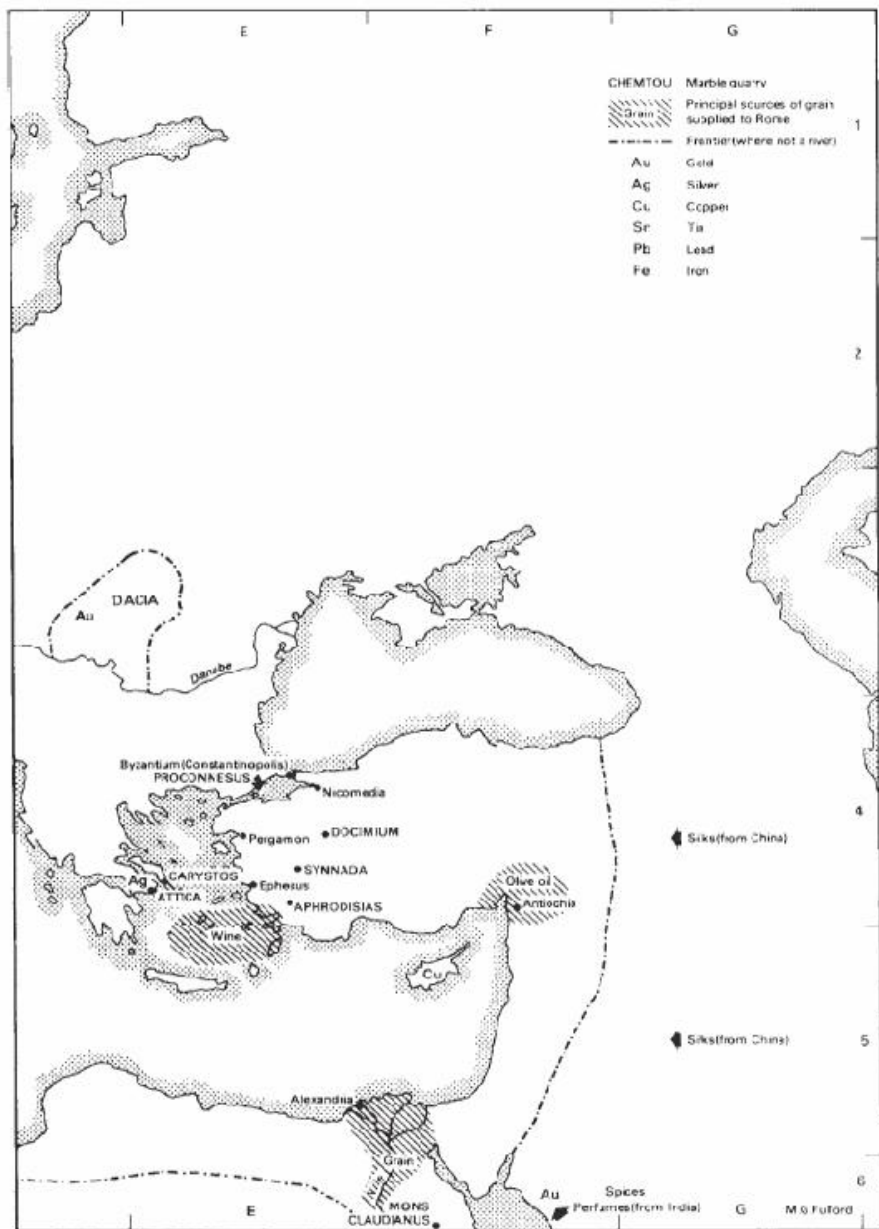


ROME IN THE AGE OF THE SEVERI



TRADE IN THE ROMAN WORLD





Trade in the Roman World

In the Roman world trade was a complex affair. Trade for profit, carried out by entrepreneurs, was limited. Institutions such as the imperial government (and later the church) were responsible for the larger share of trade, and this was promoted for non-commercial reasons. So, too, was the movement of goods between estates of the

same land-owners. Trade was lubricated by a uniform coinage, but it remained incidental to the latter's main function, which was to discharge government debts to the army and civil service. Not everyone had access to coinage, so that barter and exchange continued among some groups, as it did also between the Roman world and barbarian societies beyond.

Roman trade resembled that of the classical Greek world in so far as it was primarily concerned with the movement of raw materials and foodstuffs, rather than of manufactured goods. A completely self-sufficient community would have been rare indeed. Yet an important distinction lies in the extent of state involvement, as seen early in the supply of corn to Rome. During the Republic, imports from Sardinia and Sicily proved sufficient, but thereafter the city's growing population led to dependence on regular shipments from Africa and Egypt.

The extraction of minerals—gold, silver, copper, tin, lead—was an imperial monopoly. Imperial involvement in the quarrying and supply of marble for building is also clear. During the late Republic and early Empire, quarries in Africa, Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece, as well as in Italy itself, were important sources of fine marble for the city of Rome. By the second century the use of these exotic materials had spread to other Mediterranean cities. Thus at Lepcis Magna marble and granite from Attica, Carystos, Proconnesus and Egypt were employed in both public and private building. As with corn, the supply of these commodities was evidently left to private merchants (*negotiatores*) and shippers (*navicularii*), who were then able to use surplus carrying capacity to further their own interests. The direction of these activities lay in the hands of the state.

Negotiatores were also involved in supplying armies stationed on the frontiers of the empire from Augustus' time. Although frontier provinces themselves were probably forced to provide more than their fair share, much revenue from elsewhere, too, was clearly spent on soldiers, arms and defences. The distribution of artefacts and inscriptions along the river systems of Gaul indicates the volume of trade drawn out of the Mediterranean world to serve the frontiers. However, not all longdistance trade in this direction was determined by the army. Well before barbarian societies were incorporated within the empire, merchants had found in them a profitable market for wine and manufactured goods, exchanged for slaves and raw materials.

Long-distance trade thrived where transport costs were low. Diocletian's price edict of AD 301 shows how much cheaper it was to

send goods by sea than by land. River transport, too, was relatively cheap, although costs rose the more that cargoes had to be handled. Predictably it was cities on the Mediterranean, or on major river routes, which prospered at the expense of land-locked towns.

More locally, Strabo and Pliny the Elder outline the character of provincial economies and their particular strengths—whether in minerals, or in foodstuffs such as wine, cereals, or olive oil. Literary sources also illustrate the social context in which commercial trade took place. Notably the aristocracy, while profiting by the sale of goods from its estates, distanced itself from direct involvement in commerce and manufacturing. Archaeology aids definition of the direction, scale and complexity of Roman trade both locally and empire-wide. Paradoxically the most abundant evidence is that from manufactured goods such as cheap pottery and trinkets: this can be used as a ‘proxy’ for the trade in perishables. Only in the case of pottery jars (*amphorae*) which carried wine, olive oil, fish sauce, dried fruit and the like, do we gain direct insight into the trade of foodstuffs. Italy emerges as the main supplier of wine in the later Republic, Baetica of olive oil in the early Empire (later overtaken by Africa). Evidence from shipwrecks is instructive: these reveal that cargoes were mainly devoted to the carriage of basic commodities, leaving little space for the less valuable manufactured goods. At times the extent of trade networks was great. Fragments of Italian amphorae and fine tableware, for example, show how in Augustus’ day communities as far apart as Britain and India—both beyond the frontiers of the empire—were enjoying the same wines as were drunk in Rome.

The Roman Empire in AD 60

During the 120 years between 60 BC (see p. 102) and AD 60 Rome’s empire was impressively extended and consolidated. Though it was Julius Caesar who conquered Gaul in the 50s BC and later enlarged Africa, the expansion was above all the achievement of Augustus. During his Principate Egypt was annexed (30 BC), while Spain, Gaul and the Alps were all pacified and organised (by 13 BC). Persistent efforts to subdue Germany and push Roman control as far as the R.Elbe (Albis) failed, however; the R.Rhine was therefore made the frontier in this area, and heavily garrisoned. Arguably Augustus’ greatest contribution to the consolidation of the empire was to link its western and eastern sections by subduing all the territory up to the

R.Danube along its whole course; this frontier, too, was strongly garrisoned. At Augustus' death in AD 14 much of the empire was indeed, as Tacitus says (*Ann.* 1.9), 'bordered by the ocean or by long rivers'. In the east the R. Euphrates formed part of the frontier, yet this was less secure and less sharply defined than in the west, with significant areas still left in the hands of friendly 'client kings' (though Galatia had been annexed in 25 BC), and with no substantial garrison. For a variety of reasons—political and financial, as well as military—Augustus had no wish to station many legions in the east, and feared no pressing danger from there. For all its size the neighbouring Parthian empire was normally weak and divided, while most of its monarchs respected Roman concern that kings of Armenia (the mountainous area with which both empires shared a frontier) should swear allegiance to the emperor.

Although Tiberius did incorporate the former 'client kingdom' of Cappadocia within the empire in AD 17, in general he followed Augustus' advice against expansion. Claudius, by contrast, proved more ambitious. During the 40s he incorporated further 'client kingdoms'—in Mauretania, Thrace, Lycia and Judaea—while embarking upon the conquest of Britain. By 60 Roman forces there were facing a native rebellion. At the same time the eastern legions needed reinforcement to combat an unusually strong and aggressive Parthian monarch, Vologeses I, who was refusing to recognise even Rome's nominal claim to Armenia.

From 27 BC governors were appointed by two different methods. For certain provinces senatorial proconsuls chosen by lot continued to be sent out for one-year terms, as in the Republic. Such senators were all ex-praetors, except those sent to Africa and Asia, who were senior ex-consuls. By AD 14 only one legion remained under proconsular command (in Africa), and that, too, was removed in 39. In all other provinces the governor was the emperor's legate, appointed by him and holding office at his pleasure, though a term of around three years might be expected. Such imperial governors were drawn not only from among ex-consuls (for heavily garrisoned provinces especially) and ex-praetors, but also from among *equites* in the emperor's service (for Egypt and minor provinces).

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN A.D. 60





completion of the initial phase of invasion by A. Plautius; formally it ceased to be a province 367 years later, when the emperor Honorius withdrew the remaining garrisons. The map inevitably presents only a partial picture, and one that must amalgamate the developments of more than one century. There is no hint here, for example, that the majority of both major and minor civilian settlements in lowland Britain began as forts or fortresses during the conquest phase. The only military sites shown south east of the line joining the R. Severn (Sabrina) and the R. Trent (Trisanton), are either ones of the first century which were not overlain by later towns; or—in the case of the coastal forts from the Wash to the Isle of Wight—they are those which belong to the less secure period from the late third century onwards, when pirate raids in the North Sea and the Straits of Dover were becoming an increasing menace to the peace and security of the civilian heartlands.

As a spur to romanisation three *coloniae* of retired Roman legionaries were settled at Camulodunum, Glevum and Lindum in the first century; later, honorary colonial status was given to the civilian settlement at Eburacum, and almost certainly to Londinium too. But most of the rest of the 'major settlements' were organised as *civitates*, newly planted, self-governing capitals controlling tribal areas, each roughly representing (with some Roman manipulation) the same region occupied by each tribe before the Roman invasion. It is vivid testimony to the genius of Roman planning that many of these settlements are still thriving communities today, and that long stretches of the Roman road system which linked them are still in use. The flourishing state of Romano-British agriculture is witnessed by the thousand or so villas and farms located to date. The mosaics, painted plaster and lavish bath suites of the richer establishments (in country and town) testify to the high standard of material comfort achieved by the wealthier propertied classes, as well as to their thorough romanisation.

To protect the civilian zone, however, a permanent buffer of garrison forts was required in Wales and the north of England, controlled from three permanent legionary fortresses at Isca, Deva and Eburacum. All but one of the other fortresses shown, whether legionary (16–20 hectares) or vexillation (8–12 hectares) size, belong to the first century when the military situation was still fluid; Carpow alone is third century. Not all the forts shown were occupied simultaneously. It is impossible to show essential back-up features in the framework of military occupation, such as fortlets and signal stations. Omitted, too, are the marching camps representing the army on manoeuvres or campaign: it is from these, for example, that Roman armies are known

to have reached the mouth of the R. Spey (Tuesis) under Agricola in 84, and again later, probably in the third century. For most of Roman Britain's history, however, it was Hadrian's Wall which formed the northern frontier.

Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall

Agricola was the first to appreciate the strategic importance of the Tyne-Solway line: during his governorship (78–84/5) he built a road ('The Stanegate') from Luguvalium to Red House and several of the forts along it. After the withdrawal from southern Scotland c. 105 the Stanegate served as the frontier; it was probably now that its line was extended westwards and eastwards, and fresh forts built along it. Hadrian, however, effected a bolder solution to the frontier problem with the erection of a continuous 118 km barrier from coast to coast a few miles north of the Stanegate—in stone three metres thick from Pons Aelius to the R. Irthing, and in turf from the Irthing to the Solway. At intervals of one Roman mile fortlets ('mile-castles') were built along it, with two signalling towers (turrets) spaced out between each—milecastles of stone in the eastern sector, of turf and timber in the western sector, but turrets of stone throughout. An impressive V-ditch was dug outside the entire frontier line, except where the crags rendered it superfluous. The main fighting garrisons were to remain in the Stanegate forts.

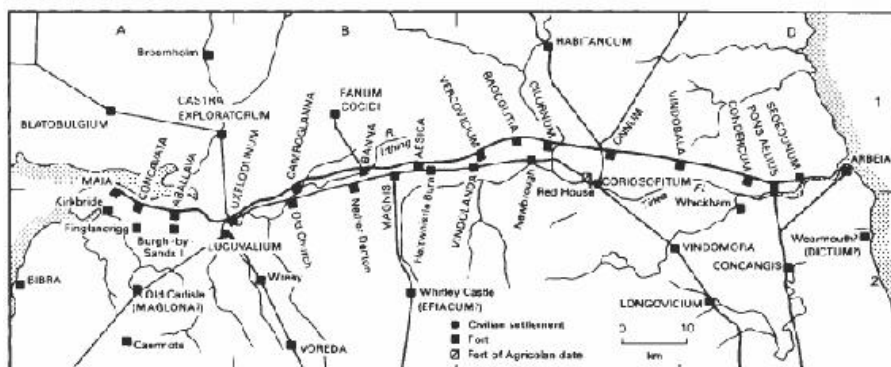
Drastic modifications were made c. 124. Forts were now placed on the Wall itself, originally 12 in number, later 16, demolishing turrets or mile-castles already built, if they were in the way. To speed up the work, the stone Wall was narrowed to 2.5 metres, and extended eastwards to Segedunum to provide better cover for the Tyne. Most idiosyncratic of all, a continuous flat-bottomed ditch, with accompanying earth mounds both north and south of it ('The Vallum'), ran behind the Wall to provide a clear delineation of the military zone: now the only crossing points were at control gates opposite each fort. This oddity of Roman planning came to be ignored soon after it was built, and was partly filled in. But its construction, and the decision to move the main garrisons onto the Wall itself, both presumably reflect the hostility with which the whole idea of a frontier barrier was greeted locally.

Another integral part of Hadrian's frontier was the system of stone watch towers and timber fortlets which continued down the Solway

coast, probably as far as St Bees Head, south of Gabrosentum (see above, 'Roman Britain'); recent work between Bibra and Maia suggests that the original scheme here may have been a continuous timber palisade of uncertain length and height, similar to that known on the contemporary frontier in Germany. Also essential to defence of the frontier were the outpost forts to the north—Blatobulgium, Castra Exploratorum and Fanum Cocidi, later to be joined by Habitancum and others.

The Hadrianic frontier was essentially complete c. 128. Yet a bare ten years later Antoninus Pius ordered a fresh advance and the building of another Wall—entirely of turf, a mere 59 km long—between Forth and Clyde. The planners of the Antonine frontier also had their afterthoughts. A tentative early scheme to build in stone (as seen at Balmuildy fort) was scrapped in favour of a turf Wall and ditch. At first the plan seems to have envisaged widely placed turf-and-timber forts, with fortlets like the milecastles of Hadrian's turf Wall in between: nine such fortlets are now known, though it is too early to say if a complete series was built. Clearly some at least were dismantled and superseded by adjacent forts, even before the Wall had been finished. Thus the Antonine frontier as finally completed c. 142 had 19 forts in all—more than Hadrian's Wall, which was twice as long. There was no Vallum, and apart from six platforms, perhaps used as beacon stances in signalling, no structure resembling a turret. The western flanks were protected by a fort at Bishopton and a couple of fortlets further west; to the east of the Wall were garrisons at Cramond and Inveresk, while Alauna, Victoria (Strageath) and Bertha served as outpost forts to the north.

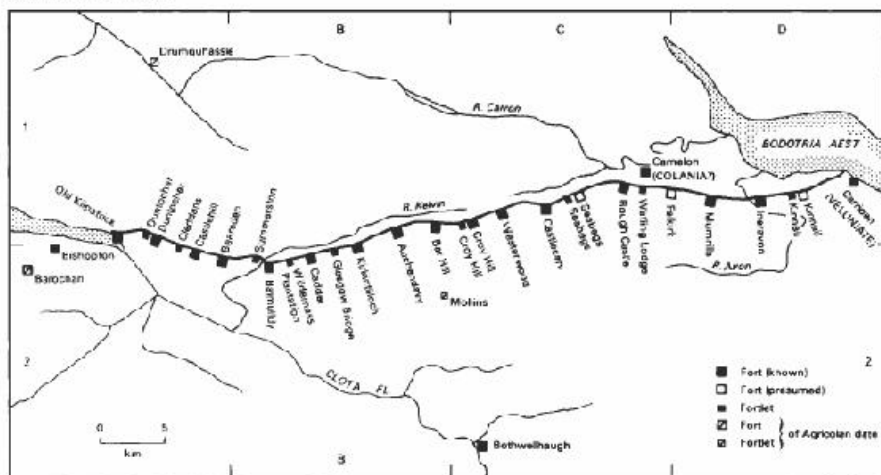
HADRIAN'S WALL



The Antonine Wall had an active service life of less than 20 years. Temporarily abandoned c. 155/8 and re-occupied after an interval of only a year or two, it was finally given up c. 163/4. Hadrian's Wall—

its western sector now rebuilt in stone— henceforth served as the definitive frontier.

ANTONINE WALL



R.J.A. Wilson

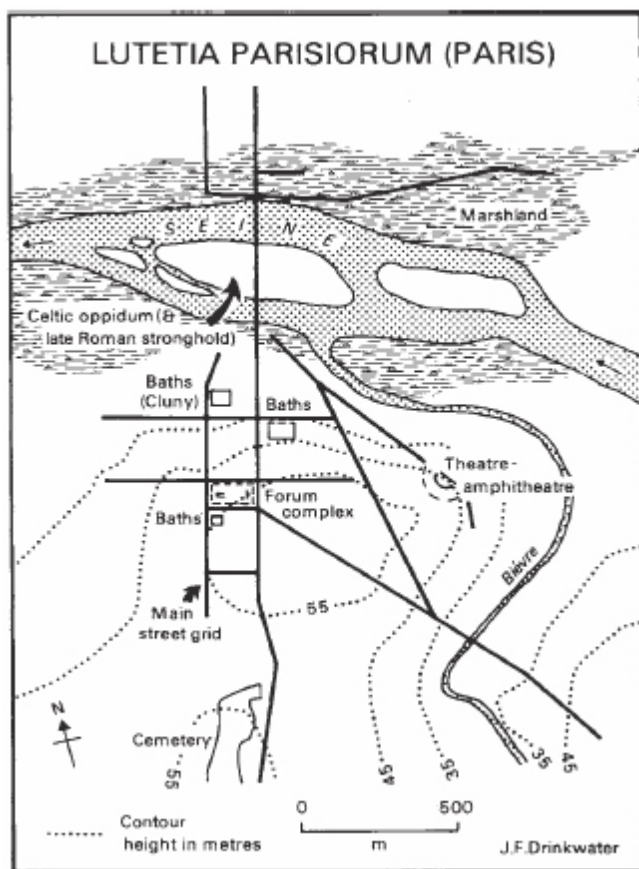
CALLEVA ATREBATUM (SILCHESTER)



R.J.A. Wilson

Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum)

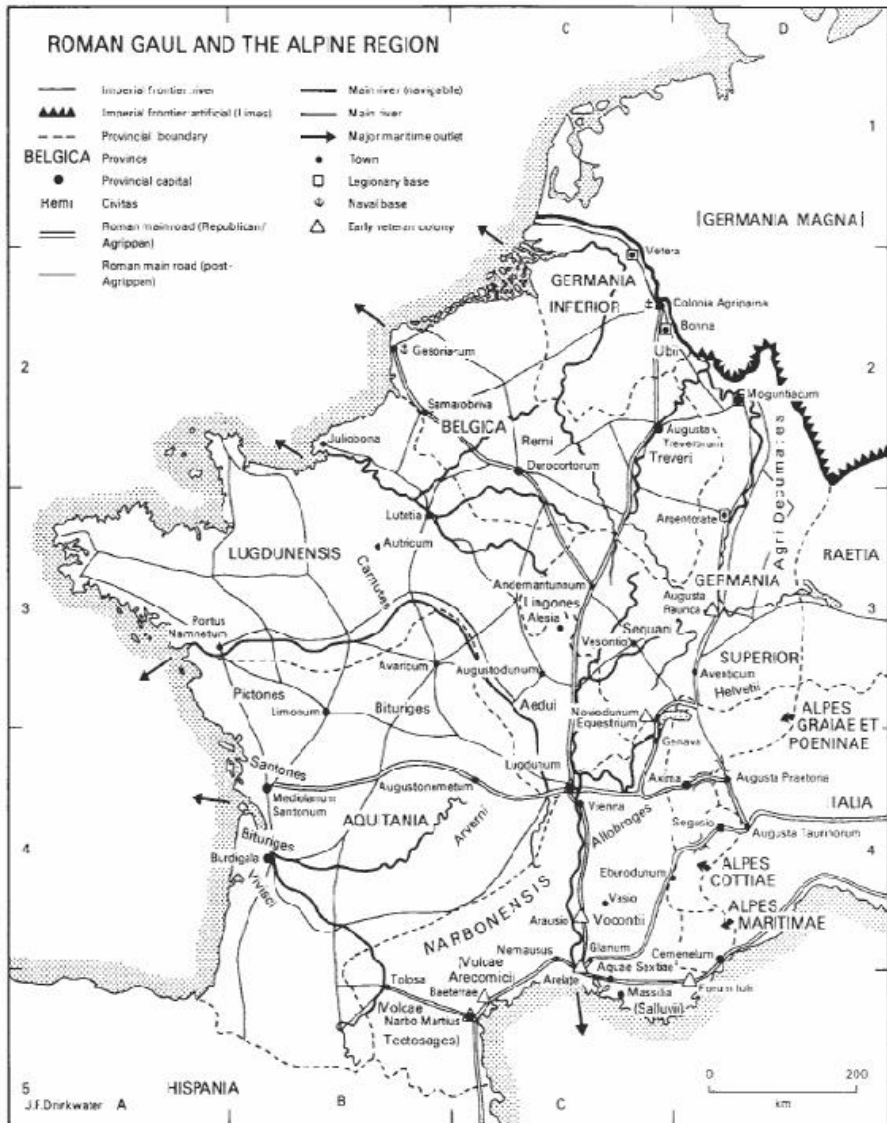
Situated in Hampshire 13 km south of the R. Thames, Silchester has been almost deserted since Roman times, so that excavations in 1890–1909 revealed the most detailed example of a Romano-British town. As the capital of the Atrebat, Silchester predates the invasion in AD 43, but the Roman town developed slowly. The baths (c. 55/ 65) were its earliest amenity, oriented differently to the over-ambitious street grid of the late first century. The forum/basilica complex and amphitheatre were both started at the same time as the street grid; the former took some 30 years to complete. In the late second century a defensive bank of gravel with stone gateways enclosed 40 hectares—average area for a Romano-British town of medium size—and this was fronted by a stone wall after 250. Though full evidence is lacking, decline clearly followed, with the basilica being put to industrial use for metal-working. A tiny church was erected about 350.



Lutetia Parisiorum

Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris) was a typical northern Gallic *civitas-capital*,

with a population of about 7,500. It succeeded a Celtic *oppidum* located on the Ile de la Cité—an easily defended site which controlled an important route across the R.Seine. However continuity of settlement was only assured when the Romans built a road which crossed the river at the same point. The main part of the Romano-Gallic city lay on the left bank. Its layout reflects the Gauls' ready acceptance of Greco-Roman ideas of urbanisation. There was regular street planning, and lavish provision of public buildings for administration, entertainment and relaxation. To be noted are the central forum complex—which included an open area with surrounding portico, a great hall and temple—and the bath buildings. The city was unwallled, a tribute to secure conditions during the Principate. In true Roman fashion its cemeteries were placed beyond its sacred boundary. The later Roman and medieval cities retreated again to the island in the Seine.



Roman Gaul and the Alpine Region

Rome effectively acquired southern Gaul late in the second century BC, by her intervention to help Massilia against the Salluvii. Subsequent war with the Allobroges extended Roman territory to Lake Geneva. Aquae Sextiae was established as a garrison town, and a colony was founded at Narbo Martius. The area became known as 'Provincia'— 'The Province'. Incessant feuding among the remaining Gallic nations (*civitates*) blinded them to the threat posed by Romans in the south and Germanic peoples from the north. Rome herself,

however, was increasingly aware of the German menace. Thus between 58 and 51 BC Julius Caesar could use it to justify his interference in the affairs of the Helvetii, Aedui, Arverni and Sequani, and indeed his conquest of the whole of Gaul.

The Republic had prized 'The Province' only as a safe route to Spain. Caesar, once dictator, went further, and established full veteran colonies at Narbo, Arelate, Forum Iulii and Baeterrae. Augustus followed the same pattern. He founded more full colonies in Narbonensis, as 'The Province' was now renamed—for example at Arausio; he also promoted Nemausus and many other indigenous settlements to colonial status. Thus began the intensive romanisation of Narbonensis, and the displacement of *civitates* by Greco-Roman style city-states—as among the Volcae Arecomici, to cite one instance.

In the new territories, however, Caesar was responsible for only three colonies—Noviodunum, Raurica, Lugdunum—to prevent German invasion from the Rhine. Augustus created no new colonies in the north. He slightly remodelled the *civitates*, giving them single centres of administration (the '*civitas*-capitals', e.g. Augustodunum), but otherwise left them alone. His major innovation was to establish three new provinces: Lugdunensis (capital: Lugdunum), Aquitania (capital: first Mediolanum, then Limonum, and finally Burdigala), and Belgica (capital: first Durocortorum, then probably Augusta Treverorum). The 'Three Gauls' developed a Gallo-Roman rather than a Roman culture. Augustus also set in train the subjugation of the western Alps, which considerably eased overland communications between Gaul and Italy, and resulted ultimately in the provinces of Alpes Graiae et Poeninae (capital: Axima), Alpes Cottiae (capital: Segusio), and Alpes Maritimae (capital: Cemenelum).

Following the failure of Augustus' province of Germania Magna, and the return of the imperial frontier to the Rhine, martial law zones of Germania Inferior and Germania Superior were carved out of Belgica and Lugdunensis. In the late first century, under Domitian, these were constituted as formal provinces, with capitals at Colonia Agrippina and Moguntiacum respectively. Germania Superior included the only permanent Roman acquisition across the Rhine, the 'Agri Decumates', annexed by Vespasian and his son Domitian to shorten the northern frontier. During the second century its impressive overland boundary, the *Limes*, was progressively strengthened (see p. 140). Legions came to be stationed at Vetera, Bonna, Moguntiacum and Argentorate. Taken together with associated auxiliaries, and the naval personnel at Gesoriacum and Colonia Agrippina, they amounted to a considerable garrison.

The army's presence was of great importance for Gaul. Military needs prompted the improvement of road and river communications, while the troops' spending power greatly stimulated the Gallic economy. Increased wealth was reflected in urbanisation, not only in colonies and *civitas*-capitals, but also in agglomerations which grew up around the military bases and along the main routes. The greatest city was Lugdunum, whose suburb of Condate housed the great Altar of Roma and Augustus, the main focus of Gallic emperorworship. Prosperity, and perhaps a growing population, are also seen in the widespread appearance of substantial romanised farmhouses and villas, as revealed by aerial photography around Samarobriva, for example.

Gaul suffered particularly badly in the mid-third century, when external attack and internal discord brought anarchy to the empire. The frontier collapsed, the Agri Decumates were lost, and many towns and villas were destroyed. Order was restored by the fourth-century emperors, but the great age of imperial peace had passed.



Germanies-Raetia-Noricum

For much of the Roman period the rivers Rhine and Danube marked the limit of Roman expansion northwards in western and central Europe. At the end of the first century BC the Celtic speaking peoples

of the region (who lived both north and south of the rivers) were at differing levels of political, social and economic development; but they did provide a common bond between Rome's frontier provinces.

In the west Julius Caesar reached the Rhine in 55 BC. In 15 BC, however, Augustus initiated a series of campaigns to annex the lands between the Rhine and the Elbe (Albis). He built fortresses on the west bank of the Rhine (including Noviomagus, Vetera, Novaesium and Mogontiacum), and bases in the Lippe valley further east. This forward policy was reversed after a major disaster in AD 9, following which the Rhine was adopted as the frontier. The rump of Augustan Germania—two narrow military zones on the west bank—became by AD 90 the provinces of Germania Inferior and Superior.

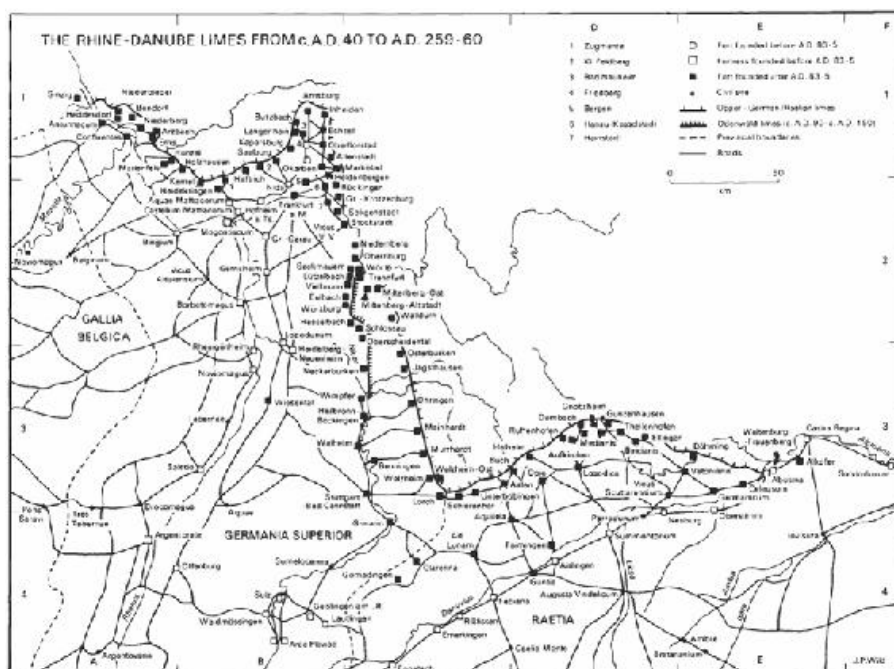
After Augustus' subjugation of the Alpine tribes in 15 BC, the Vindelici and the kingdom of Noricum were overrun up to the Danube, though the two provinces of Raetia and Noricum were not formally created until Claudius' reign. Lying between the fortresses of Upper Germany and Pannonia, neither was garrisoned by legionary troops until the later second century.

Claudius reinforced both river frontiers with new forts. However the political upheavals of 69–70 caused widespread destruction, so that shortly afterwards Vespasian thoroughly overhauled the defensive systems. On the Danube he rebuilt the Claudian forts; east of the Upper Rhine he linked Mogontiacum and Augusta Vindelicum by new roads, and fortified the Upper Neckar (Nicer). After the Chattan War of 83–5 his son Domitian constructed the first *limes* in the Wetterau north east of Mogontiacum—a patrol road with towers and fortlets at intervals. At the same time he built a line of new forts north of the Danube. Around 90, following further Chattan incursions, he joined the Wetterau forts with Vespasian's strongpoints on the Upper Neckar by a *limes* through the Odenwald. Further improvements were made under Trajan and Hadrian; later, around 150, the garrisons of the Odenwald-Neckar *limes* were moved 20–25 km eastwards.

Under threat of attack by the Marcomanni, in 179 Raetia was given the protection of a new legionary base at Regensburg (Castra Regina); soon afterwards Lauriacum took on the same role in Noricum. Germanic raids across the whole length of the Rhine and Danube frontier progressively threatened the security of provincial life, especially after 233. The Agri Decumates behind the Upper German-Raetian *limes* were gradually evacuated, and by 259–60 the Upper Rhine and Danube once more became the front line. Then from the late third century new strongpoints were built along both the rivers

and some main routes in the hinterland. Thus Rome had moved effectively from the offensive to the defensive.

It is clear that the army was the agent of rapid romanisation in the frontier provinces: there is ample archaeological evidence for urbanisation and the intensive exploitation of natural resources. Colonies such as Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium and Augusta Rauricorum were founded, and many lesser towns sprang up. Most forts, too, had dependent civil settlements, sometimes of considerable importance. Villa estates in the country-side supported a prosperous upper class, and marginal land was farmed by a numerous peasantry. The barbarian invasions of the third century did not put an end to progress; but they coincided with notable changes in the Roman social and economic system, so that their effect was far reaching.



The Rhine-Danube Limes from c. AD 40 to AD 259–60

The triangle of land between the upper courses of the Rhine and Danube formed a re-entrant into Roman territory and a potential weak spot in the northern defences. It was directly controlled by Rome only between the late first and the mid-third centuries AD. After Augustus' failure to create a Greater German province up to the Elbe, the Rhine

and Danube were accepted as the frontier. Fortresses at Mogontiacum, Argentorate and Vindonissa were supported by auxiliary forts in the Rhine Valley and south of the Danube. Claudius moved troops up to the two river lines and strengthened both. After the disturbances of 69–70 Vespasian reorganised the region's defences. He drove a road east of the Rhine from Mogontiacum to Augusta Vindelicum and established forts on the Upper Neckar (Nicer). In 85, after his first Chattan War, Domitian protected the Wetterau north east of Mogontiacum by a *limes*—that is, a patrol road with wooden look-out towers and fortlets at intervals; he also built a series of forts north of the Danube. To link the Wetterau system with the Upper Neckar, around 90 he constructed a *limes* through the Odenwald, secured by fortlets. Hadrian added a wooden palisade in front of the road.

Around 150 the garrisons of the Odenwald-Neckar *limes* were moved to a new line 20–25 km further east, and the work of replacing wooden forts and towers in stone was completed. In the early third century the Upper German *limes* was reinforced by a rampart and ditch set behind the wooden palisade; but in the Raetian sector the palisade was replaced by a stone wall and interval towers.

Alamannic invasions in the second quarter of the third century led to Roman retrenchment. By 259–60 the *limes* had been abandoned, the towns and villas of the Agri Decumates had been evacuated, and the Rhine and Danube resumed their defensive role.

The Danubian Provinces/Balkan Area

c. AD 200

Until the end of the first century BC Rome's interests in the Balkans were confined to the Istrian peninsula and the occupation of Macedonia. However Roman control came to be extended to the R.Danube as a result of Augustus' campaigns down the R.Save (Savus) valley, together with the conquest of the interior of Dalmatia and the route to the Danube down the valley of the R.Morava (Margus). By Tiberius' time three provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia had been created. Of these Moesia was to be divided later by Domitian, Pannonia by Trajan. When Dacia was annexed at the beginning of the second century, it was sometimes governed as a single province, at other times as two, or even three.

Towns—both Macedonian foundations and Greek colonies—only existed on the periphery of the new conquests, on the Aegean coast of Thrace and on the Black Sea. New towns were founded under Augustus and Tiberius, notably in Liburnia and northern Macedonia: these were both *coloniae*, settlements of Roman veterans, and *municipia*, native settlements granted urban autonomy. All provided civilian administration for newly conquered territory. In addition the colonies—such as Emona on the road from Italy to Pannonia—guaranteed a military reserve at strategic centres vacated by the legions after the initial phase of conquest. By the mid-first century AD the Dalmatian coast from Liburnia to Macedonia possessed numerous new towns.

In the interior the pace of urbanism was much slower. Native tribal administration was maintained in central Pannonia and Moesia, regularly supervised by centurions detached from the legions. The first urban foundation on the middle Danube—the Claudian colony at Savaria—commanded the Amber road, the route north from Italy to the legionary fortress at Carnuntum; its citizens included both legionary veterans and Italian traders, anxious to seek out the important military markets on the Danube. Later in the first century Sirmium and Siscia (the latter founded with discharged sailors from the fleet) were established to strengthen the economic development of the Save valley: it formed the second most important route in Pannonia, leading south east to the Danube at Singidunum (Belgrade). Sufficiently romanised native communities were also granted urban status under the Flavians, among them Nevioudunum, Andautonia and Scarbantia. In Moesia tribal administration was maintained; romanisation proved more difficult. The only colony here was the Domitianic foundation of Scupi. It was a mixed community of Syrian, Gallic and Macedonian veterans drawn from all four Moesian legions.

The greatest impetus to urban development came from the conquest and eventual annexation of Dacia in 106. Three new colonies were founded—at Oescus in Moesia Inferior, at Ratiaria in Moesia Superior, and at Poetovio in Pannonia. Hadrian granted civic status to native settlements in the interior of Pannonia, such as Cibalae and Bassiana. On the Danubian *limes* substantial civilian settlements (*canabae*) had been formed close to the legionary fortresses by a mixture of legionary and auxiliary veterans, native traders and foreign immigrants. Hadrian raised several such settlements to municipal status, notably Viminacium, Carnuntum and Aquincum.

In the eastern Balkans the task was less easy. Thrace, annexed by Claudius, had few urban centres away from the coast. Though

Vespasian did found a colony at Deultum, the real task of creating towns in Thrace was left to Trajan. While Serdica, Pautalia and Augusta Traiana could claim native origins, his foundations at Nicopolis ad Nestum, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis (the latter two north of the Haemus range) were all new creations. This attempt to spread urbanisation was not fully successful, however. Hadrian founded only one more town in Thrace—Hadrianopolis. So the province remained largely administered by villages: remote from the towns, these controlled extensive territories exploited through *emporia*, subsidiary market centres.

The conquest of Dacia, too, was not followed by the creation of towns on the scale of the Augustan programme in Dalmatia or the Flavian one in Pannonia. The establishment of Sarmizegethusa as a colony only three years after the conquest was a political decision: it demonstrated Rome's power, not her intention to romanise the Dacian population. Hadrian added only two new towns, Drobeta and Romula, both south of the Dacian heartlands of Transcarpathia.

The second century witnessed the most prosperous period in the development of the Danubian provinces. Towns of the interior were provided with temples, *fora* and lavishly decorated public buildings. By contrast country farms were generally small, lacking the luxury of Gallic or African villas. Mining, though an imperial monopoly, encouraged the growth of settlements in Moesia Superior and western Dacia: these gained municipal rights by the third century. Ampelum, the centre of gold mining in Dacia, attracted skilled miners from Dalmatia. Moesia Superior was exploited for its lead and silver, western Thrace for gold, northern Dalmatia for iron.

Military centres which had attracted substantial civilian settlements in Dacia (like Potaissa, Napoca, Porolissum) and in Moesia Inferior (Troesmis, Durostorum) received civic rights, as did the native settlements of Naissus, Margum and Horreum Margi in the Morava valley of Moesia Superior. The development of towns also reflects the general economic development of the provinces, the romanisation of their native populations, and their general attractiveness to immigrants from both east and west. From the early third century, the award of the title *colonia* to existing settlements becomes increasingly common: Potaissa in Dacia and Aquincum in Pannonia were so honoured. However, by the second decade of the third century the barbarian invasions had commenced, bringing devastation to the Balkan provinces, and ending nearly two centuries of economic and urban development which had reached its peak by c. 200.



Iberian Peninsula

The large Iberian peninsula, separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees, has always displayed extremes of landscape and climate.

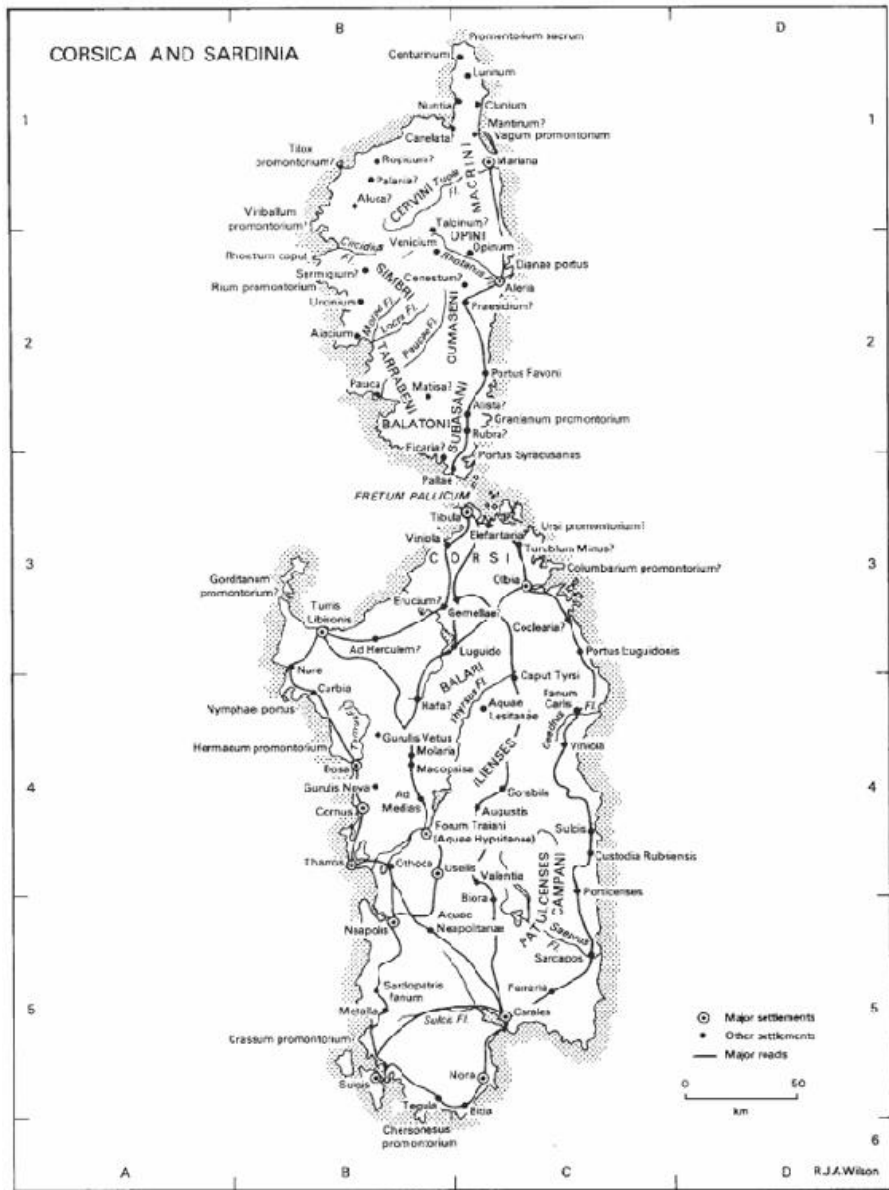
Serious Roman interest dates from the Second Punic War. By its end Rome had dislodged the Carthaginians there to occupy the most productive areas in the peninsula, the valley of the lower R.Ebro, the east coast, and the valley of the R.Baetis. Two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, were marked out in 197. In the following decades the need to protect and stabilise conquered territory combined with greed for Spain's rich variety of resources to encourage continuing Roman expansion. Long and bitter conflict with native tribes culminated in a major struggle with an alliance led by the Lusitanian Viriathus, and the capture of Numantia in 133. With Rome now in possession of perhaps two-thirds of the peninsula, there was little further conquest for the next century, although the provinces were unsettled by Roman civil wars there against Sertorius in the 70s and Pompeians in the 40s. Final conquest of the entire peninsula (especially the rugged north west) was achieved by Augustus in the 20s BC. As a result three provinces were created from his reign, Tarraconensis and Lusitania each governed by an imperial legate, Baetica by a proconsul. Thereafter the peninsula for long enjoyed a fair measure of internal stability, with only one recorded mention of fighting against the Astures in Nero's reign (*ILS* 2648). The three legions placed there by Augustus were reduced by Vespasian to one—Legio VII Gemina, stationed at the place named after itself.

The fullest surviving descriptions of the peninsula under Roman rule are those of Strabo dating to Augustus' reign, and of Pliny the Elder in the Flavian period. They indicate the impressive number of new colonies founded by Julius Caesar and Augustus and of existing towns granted either colonial or some lesser Roman status. Emerita Augusta, established in 25 BC for legionary veterans, is one outstanding example of the former group, while among the latter the ancient Phoenician foundation of Gades, given Roman municipal status by Caesar, prospered sufficiently to boast as many as 500 men of equestrian census. Much survives on bronze of the municipal charters of Salpensa and Malaca, drawn up in Domitian's reign. Although his father Vespasian had bestowed 'Latin' rights upon every community in the Spanish provinces, it should not be overlooked that there still remained a stark contrast between the south—rich, urban, romanised—and the rest of the peninsula, where cities were relatively few, and tribal organisation persisted along with native customs and languages. All the same, while many Spaniards may indeed have been 'obscure people with barbaric names', as Pliny put it, the number of educated men from the peninsula who rose to make their mark at Rome (especially as senators and writers) was remarkable.

The sources of Spain's wealth were diverse. The peninsula was rich in

herds and crops, especially corn, vines, olives, flax. Fish were caught on a large scale, both for pickling and for the manufacture of *garum*, the salty fish sauce which added zest to every Roman meal. Most valuable of all, however, were Spain's minerals—gold, silver, lead, tin, iron and copper: the last was mined over extensive areas, principally at Rio Tinto and Vipasca, from which regulations of the early second century AD survive. Most mines came to be owned by the state. Export of all Spanish products was facilitated by navigable rivers and a well-developed system of main roads.

Rome's Spanish provinces arguably reached the peak of their prosperity in the second century AD. Beyond that date, for some reason, the number of Spaniards to achieve prominence at Rome declines. The peninsula itself was harmed successively by Moorish invasions, widespread banditry, and the effects of the empire-wide civil wars of the 190s. It suffered again from Frankish invasions during the third century.



Corsica and Sardinia

These two wild and rugged islands had rather different cultural backgrounds until their absorption by Rome in the third century BC. In Sardinia the best anchorages along the western and southern coasts had been colonised by Phoenicians in the eighth and seventh centuries. These settlements, bolstered by trade and each controlling a fertile agricultural hinterland, flourished under Carthaginian control,

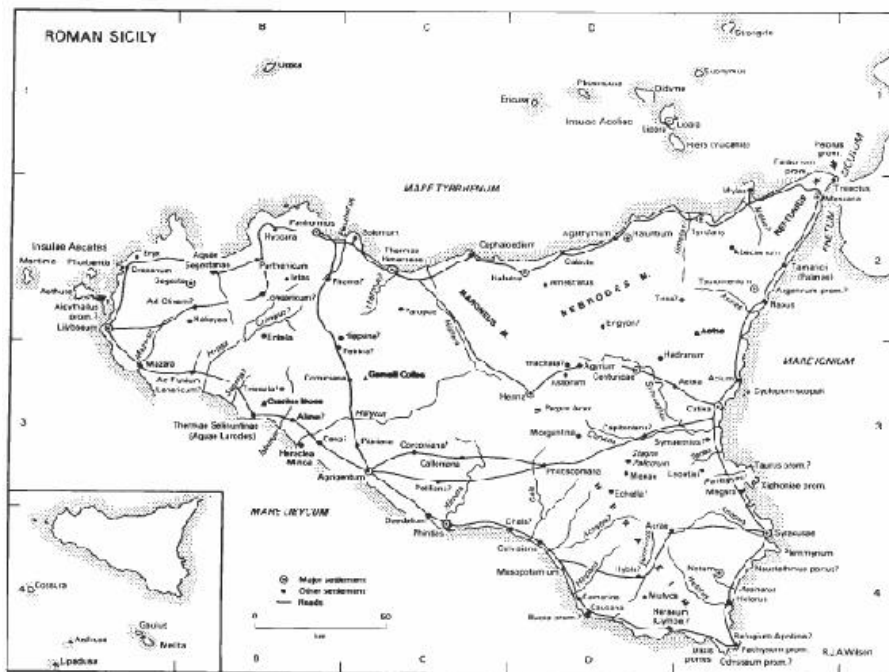
despite somewhat hostile relations with the Nuragic peoples of the interior: the Carthaginian sphere of influence never extended far inland. In Corsica Phocaeans made an ill-fated attempt to found a Greek colony at Alalia (Aleria) around 565, but the island passed under Etruscan influence less than 30 years later, and the Etruscans are said to have founded Nicaea, perhaps on the site of Mariana, about the same time. Later at least part of Corsica, too, came under Carthaginian control, and it was from this that Rome wrested both islands in 238. But further campaigns were necessary before Roman power was consolidated: not until 227 was the new province of Sardinia-Corsica formally organised. The mountainous interiors, however, remained untamed. Continued forays by Roman armies in both islands were necessary to quell native revolts until the end of the second century BC; even after that, brigandage in Sardinia at least was not finally stamped out until the early empire.

With both islands so unsettled, it is hardly surprising that the progress of romanisation was slow. In Corsica a *colonia* was founded by Marius at Mariana and another at Aleria by Sulla, but no other cities merit a reference in the Corsican section of Pliny's detailed and wide ranging survey of Roman provinces, and only a single road—the east coast one—is listed in the Antonine Itinerary. The rest of the Corsican settlements shown on the map derive from Ptolemy's Geography: doubts remain about the precise location of some, and in the absence of archaeological investigation it is impossible to determine the degree of romanisation of the others. From the garrison at Praesidium Rome kept a watchful eye on the interior, while there was an important detachment of the Misenum fleet stationed in the sheltered lagoon of Portus Dianae.

Sardinia in time became more developed. Early in Augustus' reign only Turris Libisonis was a *colonia*, and Carales the sole city with municipal rights. However, Uselis soon joined Turris as a *colonia*, and Nora and Sulcis at least became *municipia*; Cornus, too, gained municipal or colonial rank. But the interior remained unsettled. This may be seen first from the presence of auxiliary garrisons there—most probably at Sorabile, Luguido, Augustis and Valentia (though certainty is impossible). The constant switching of the island's status is another sign of instability. Having been split from Corsica and organised as a separate province some time early in the empire, Sardinia shifted between being a senatorial province and coming under direct imperial control half-a-dozen times from Augustus' day to the late second century.

Corsica's main contribution to the Roman economy was its timber.

Sardinian grain was not insignificant, and the lead and silver mines of the Metalla district, as well as iron and copper sources elsewhere in the island, also produced useful yields. In addition granite was extracted from quarries on both sides of the Fretum Pallicum— mostly for local needs. Certainly by the time of the middle Empire places such as Turris Libisonis (probably the capital), Carales, Nora and Olbia had equipped themselves with at least some public buildings in brick-faced concrete of the type to be expected in any medium-sized town in the Italian peninsula. But Punic influence in the coastal cities died hard: even in the late second century AD Bitia erected an inscription in neo-Punic which indicates that the town's constitution continued to be modelled along Carthaginian lines, with *suffetes* as chief magistrates.



Roman Sicily

Sicily became the first of Rome's provinces at the end of the First Punic War (241 BC), and remained one until the island passed under Byzantine control in AD 535. The map inevitably represents a conflation of more than one period in that long span of nearly 800 years. It is drawn from two main sources.

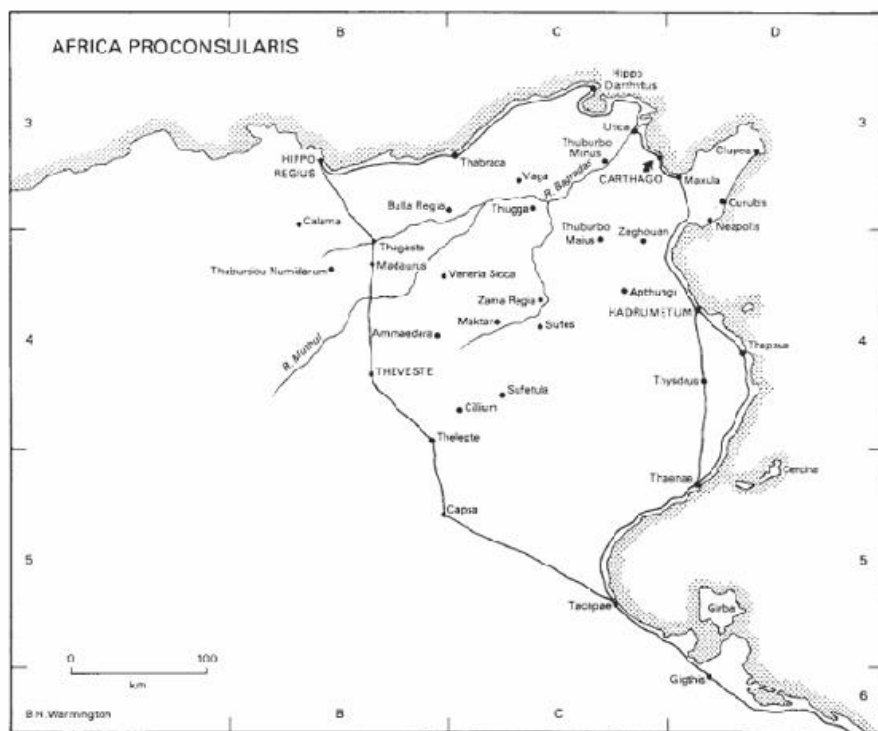
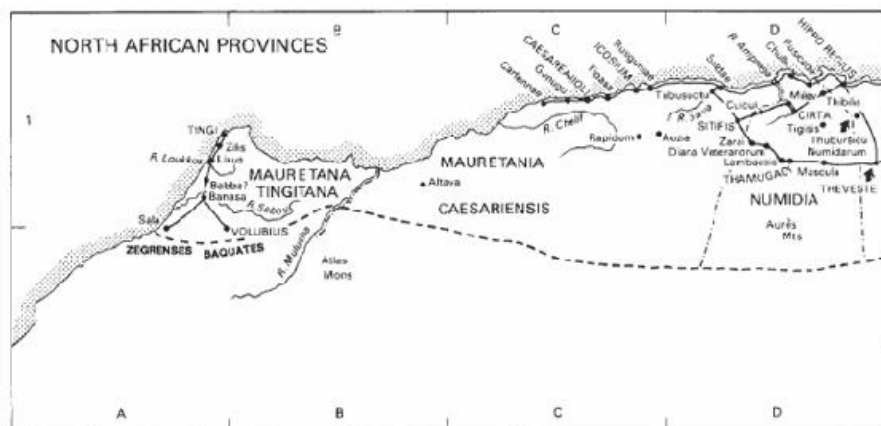
The first is Pliny's list of Sicilian communities based on an Augustan document which, with one or two supplements from Cicero's *Verrines*,

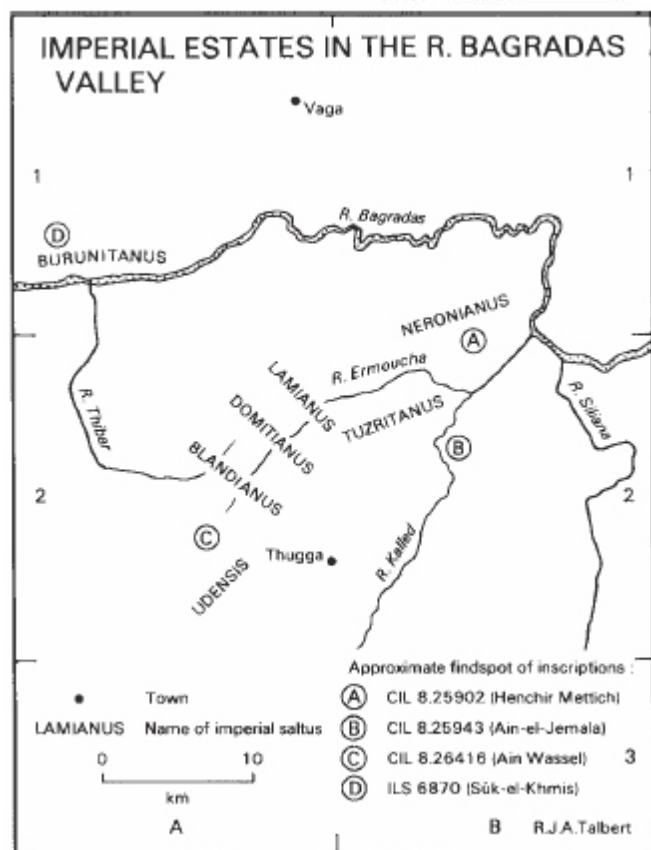
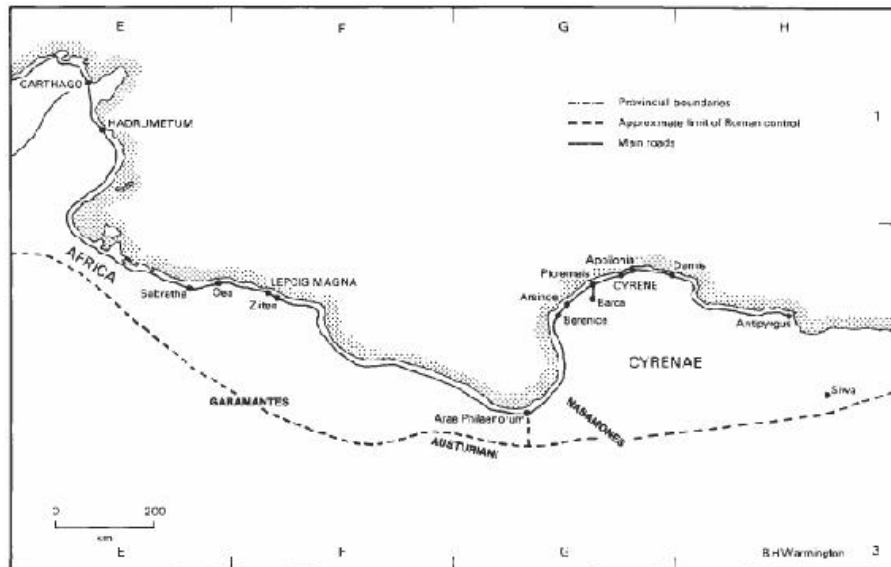
provides a list of the most important Sicilian cities in the late Republic. A comparison with the map of Greek Sicily (p. 38) will show that some of the famous old Greek cities, such as Gela, Himera and Selinus, were already dead (these three, in fact, by 241), and that some of the hill towns of the interior had also disappeared. In some cases the latter had been peacefully abandoned in the course of the late third century, when the arrival of the *pax Romana* made defensive capability no longer the most important factor in the choice of urban site. Right into the Empire the other hill towns were gradually deserted in favour of a pattern of more dispersed settlement on farms, and in villages and new market centres. The latter sprang up in the valleys and along the new trunk roads which the Romans built. Archaeology has demonstrated clearly that some of the places mentioned by Cicero and Pliny, such as Megara Hyblaea, Camarina, Morgantina, Heraclea Minoa and Ietas, either vanished altogether in the period between 50 BC and AD 50, or else dwindled to the size of hamlets; others, notably Helorus and Soluntum, and possibly Segesta and Entella, did not much outlast the second century AD.

The second main source for Sicilian place names in the Roman period is the Antonine Itinerary, in origin a third century AD document, which along with other similar late-Roman and post-Roman handbooks, lists places along the major trunk routes. In particular it provides the names of several of the new market centres referred to above, although many of these remain to be securely identified on the ground.

During both Republic and Empire, Sicily's economic importance lay almost exclusively in her role as a major corn producing province. In addition Sicilian wines were known on the tables of Rome, whilst horses, timber and sulphur were among other local assets with an export market. During the Republic the Sicilian communities were left largely to their own devices, provided they paid their tithes and other taxes. They retained a good measure of local autonomy, as well as their Greek-style constitutions and magistrates: culturally, Sicily under the Republic remained part of the Greek Hellenistic world. Romans showed an increasing interest in property speculation and other business affairs, but the numbers resident in Sicily stayed small until the first century BC. The Roman influx became more significant when six *coloniae* were created by Augustus, some of which erected buildings in the style of the concrete architecture of mainland Italy. However in other parts of Sicily building traditions remained conservative down to the late Empire. Latin was the official language of government, at least in the *coloniae* and *municipia*, though even they occasionally erected official inscriptions in Greek. This undoubtedly

remained the language of normal everyday communication. Despite its geographical proximity to Italy and more than seven centuries as a Roman province, Sicily retained a distinctly Greek flavour down into Byzantine times.





Imperial Estates in the R. Bagradas

Valley

Emperors acquired extensive landholdings throughout the provinces by such means as inheritance, gift and confiscation. Four key inscriptions found in the R.Bagradas valley between 1879 and 1906 illuminate the character of imperial estates (*saltus*) there, though how far generalisation from them is valid remains doubtful. Of special interest is administration by procurators directly responsible to the emperor, acting in liaison with a *conductor* for each estate. Though technically himself a tenant, with official connivance the latter could oppress his fellows, as inscription D of Commodus' time shows. The others all preserve regulations encouraging tenants' cultivation of marginal land (*subseciva*). The map shows their approximate findspots and the presumed location of the estates named. The *fundus villae Magne Variane id est mappalia Siga*, to which inscription A (of Trajanic date) relates, is thought to have formed part of the *saltus Neronianus*. The *saltus Tuzritanus* and *saltus Thusdritanus*, to which the otherwise similar texts of inscriptions B (Hadrianic date) and C (Severan date) respectively relate, are likely to be identical.

North African Provinces

Rome's first province in Africa was acquired after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. It consisted of a relatively small area of northern Tunisia, and was governed from Utica. In 46 BC Julius Caesar added a new province created from the kingdom of Numidia; the two were combined by Augustus about 27 BC. Africa in this form remained a senatorial province governed from Carthage, which had been refounded as a *colonia* by Augustus. In AD 39 command of the province's single legion was transferred by Gaius from the proconsul to a *legatus Augusti* of praetorian rank. For all practical purposes he took charge of Numidia—which was not officially designated as a separate province till 196—as well as the military zone on the desert fringes as far east as the border with Cyrenaica. In 42/3 the client kingdom of Mauretania was annexed and split into two provinces, Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana, separated by mountains; both were governed by equestrian procurators. Later, under Diocletian, the proconsular province was divided into three provinces, and Mauretania Caesariensis into two. No serious external or internal threats were felt to exist: the African garrison amounted to just one legion with numerous auxiliaries, in all about 28,000 men.

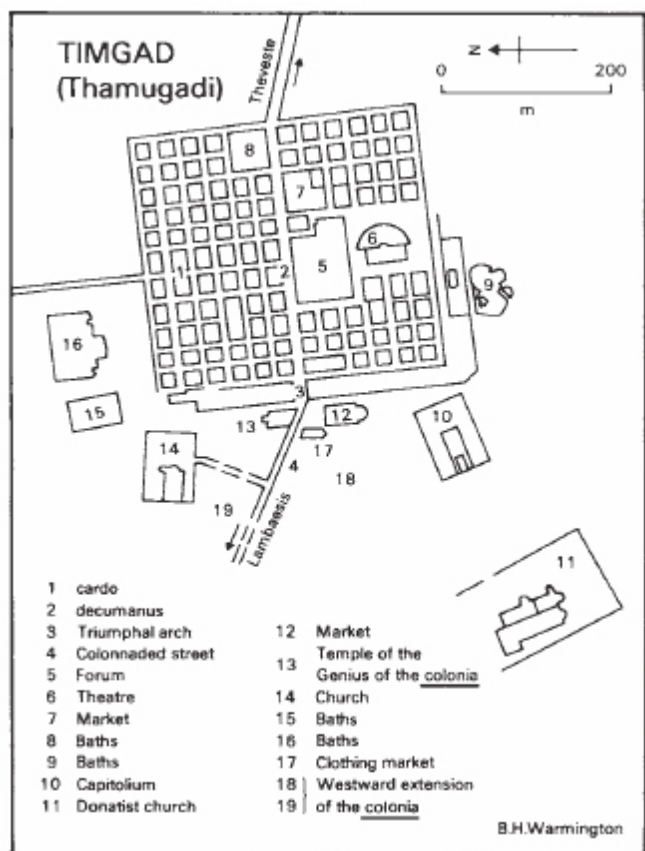
In the Punic period urban life had developed on a number of coastal sites, which came to survive the destruction of Carthage. Further impetus to development was given by considerable immigration from Italy under Caesar and Augustus. Several *coloniae* were founded, and there was much private settlement. The restriction of nomadic and pastoral movements opened wide areas to intensive agriculture, particularly cereals in northern Tunisia and later, after 100, olives in the southern areas. This was the basis of a population increase which in turn led to further urbanisation in favoured areas, among them parts of Numidia in the region of Cirta. The army also played a role in urbanisation from its successive bases at Ammaedara, Theveste and Lambaesis.

Tribal structures broke down rapidly in some areas (though not in the mountains), so that some 400 or 500 indigenous communities, mostly no more than villages, came to be recognised by the government as having local administrative responsibilities. With increased wealth, a substantial number developed into proper towns, acquiring Roman citizenship during the second century. Some, like Lepcis Magna and Hadrumetum, were old Phoenician settlements; others like Thugga, Thubursicu Numidarum, Thuburbo Maius and Maktar were of Libyan origin. By the end of the second century the density of urban life in northern Tunisia rivalled that of Italy. The population of the majority of these communities probably did not exceed 10,000; but Cirta and Hadrumetum had perhaps 30,000, and Carthage, which became the largest city in the western Mediterranean after Rome, perhaps 250,000.

Throughout north Africa there were extensive imperial estates; much land, too, was held by absentee owners. But many provincials also prospered, and they are found in increasing numbers in the highest ranks of the imperial administration. Septimius Severus, an African from Lepcis Magna, even rose to be emperor at the end of the second century. A further notable feature of the north African provinces is the speed with which Christianity spread there—faster than in any other Latin speaking region. Many of the most important early Christian writers in Latin—among them Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Augustine—were Africans.

In contrast to the advancement of Latin culture further west, Cyrenaica retained the Hellenic character which stemmed from the original settlement by Greeks in the seventh century BC. During the Roman period immigration from Italy was slight. Following its annexation in 74 BC Cyrenaica formed a proconsular province jointly with Crete—a connection not broken until some time in the third

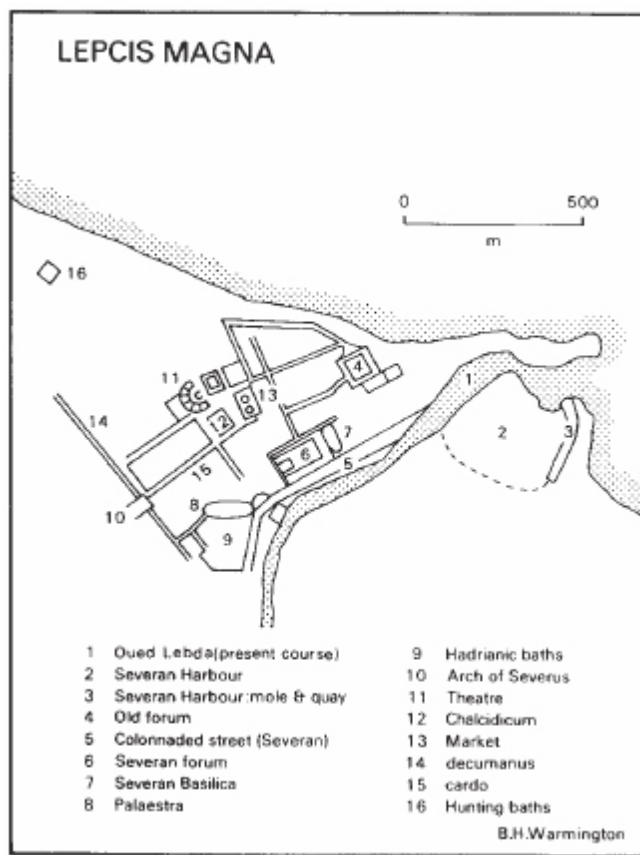
century AD. Diocletian next divided Cyrenaica into Libya Superior and Libya Inferior. The traditional Greek way of life continued in the coastal cities, the term Pentapolis being applied to Apollonia, Cyrene (see p. 40), Ptolemais, Arsinoe and Berenice. Serious damage was caused in a revolt by Jewish inhabitants in 115, but the province suffered no major military problem till the fourth century when pressure exerted on the cultivated areas by desert tribes became intense.



Timgad

Thamugadi (modern Timgad) has impressive remains which, unencumbered by post-Roman building, reveal the most complete aspect of a Roman colonial city to have survived. Founded in AD 100 as Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi 38 km east of Lambaesis (the base of Legio III Augusta which provided the first settlers) on the road to Theveste, the city was planned like a military camp, being almost square. The perimeter wall was 355 metres per side and contained

111 roughly equal blocks, some occupied by public buildings. As a result of a rapid increase in population, the wall was dismantled within a generation and relatively unplanned expansion occurred, particularly to the west and north. The Capitolium itself was built c. 160 outside the original perimeter. The city's public buildings (among them 15 sets of baths) and impressive works of art testify to its wealth, derived from the agricultural resources of the region. Thamugadi became a stronghold of the Donatists, a Christian schismatic movement of the fourth century.



Leptis Magna

Leptis, or less correctly Leptis, Magna (modern Lebda) lies on the coast road 120 km east of Tripoli. A small harbour there on the Oued Lebda had been settled by Phoenicians around 600 BC. In Augustus' time its mixed Phoenician and Libyan inhabitants lavishly transformed it into a city on the Roman model. Some Phoenician institutions were still retained until Trajan gave the community the status of a *colonia*.

with the advance of military control, the effective limit being climatic and economic.

In Mauretania Caesariensis auxiliary forts were at first concentrated on the line Auzia-Rapidum and the Chelif valley, until Severus developed a more southerly system. There was no permanent land connection between the Mauretanian provinces. In Tingitana the auxiliary units were relatively numerous and stationed inside the province. Inscriptions imply diplomatic arrangements with a neighbouring tribe outside the empire, the Baquates, between 140 and 280.

Immediately east of Tunisia, Tripolitania had no troops till the late second century when outposts were stationed as far south as Ghadames. From the third century fortified farmhouses here and in Cyrenaica testify to the need for self-protection against increasing nomadic threats, due perhaps to more widespread use of the camel. In the fourth century the entire *limes* (excluding Tingitana) was divided into sectors under *praepositi limitis*.

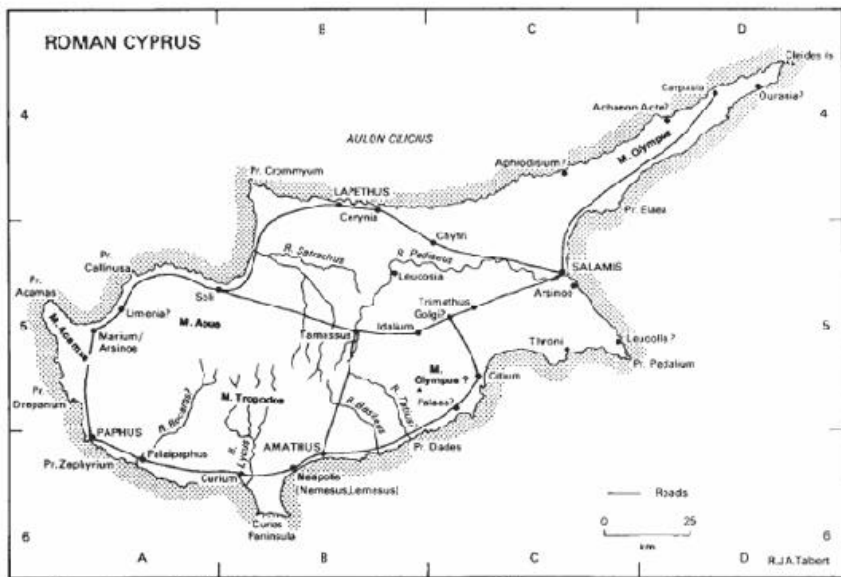
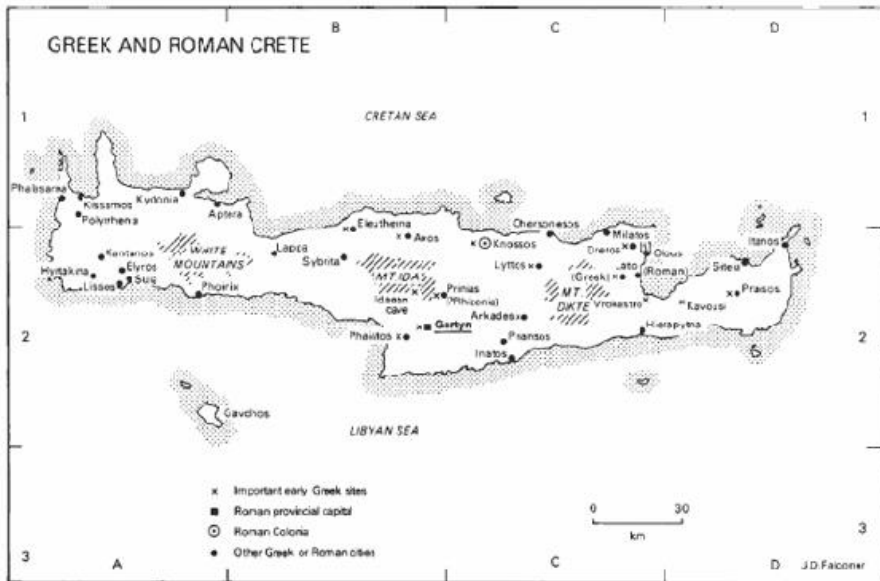
Greek and Roman Crete

Some time after the collapse of the Minoan civilisation (see pp. 4–5), Dorian Greeks settled in Crete beside the survivors of the earlier population, to form that mixture of Cretan peoples—‘Achaean, Eteocretans, Kydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians’—described in *Odyssey* 19. 175–7. In the tenth and ninth centuries conditions seem to have been harsh, and there was continued occupation of some of the inaccessible hilltop sites like Vrokastro and Kavousi that had first been occupied by Minoan refugees. By the eighth century, however, several new Dorian cities had been founded, so that in the seventh century Crete was a prosperous island of independent cities, in which the arts flourished sufficiently to influence developments throughout the Greek world. These communities of archaic Crete were also the first in Greece to introduce written codes of law.

Such prosperity seems to have come to an abrupt end in the sixth century. From that time on Crete never again occupied a comparably dominant position in either the historical or the archaeological record. From the fifth century until the Roman conquest in 67 BC the island suffered from frequent inter-city wars, in which the larger communities of Kydonia, Knossos, Gortyn and Hierapytna fought to

increase their power over the weaker ones. During this period settlement was concentrated in walled cities occupying strong positions on hill tops.

The Roman conquest was carried out by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 69–7 BC, following accusations that the Cretans were guilty of piracy and were helping Mithradates in his fight against Rome. After the annexation Gortyn became the provincial capital, and Crete was combined with Cyrene to form a single province—an arrangement which continued into the third century AD. In the peaceful conditions under the Principate, settlements in low lying and coastal areas became more common. A certain prosperity is indicated by the building of a number of country villas in the second and third centuries.



Roman Cyprus

Roman annexation of the Greek island of Cyprus in 58 BC followed two-and-a-half centuries of Ptolemaic rule. The island was first administered with Cilicia; Julius Caesar and Antony returned it to Egyptian rule. But Octavian claimed it permanently for Rome after his victory at Actium, and from 22 BC onwards it constituted a separate senatorial province divided into four districts centred around Paphos,

Salamis, Amathus and Lapethus. Paphos, famous for its temple of Aphrodite, was developed as the administrative capital of the island and seat of the provincial *koinon* or council. Salamis, however, with its harbour and fertile hinterland was the largest and most cosmopolitan city, and the main commercial centre. It exported the island's principal products—copper, timber, corn—and was well situated to exploit trading opportunities with Syria, Judaea and Egypt. Copper mining, under state control, was concentrated on the coastal strip between Marium and Soli and in the rugged interior at Tamassus. The island did suffer occasional earthquake damage, and it was also greatly disturbed by its sizeable Jewish population at the time of the Jewish risings throughout the east late in Trajan's reign. Yet archaeological findings taken together with meagre literary and epigraphic evidence do confirm the general impression that under Roman rule Cyprus was a quiet, comparatively prosperous backwater.

Bithynia and Asia c. AD 100

Competition for status and its rewards was a prominent feature of Greek society, in public as in private life. The map illustrates the local government structure of two provinces and shows the major status categories competed for by cities.

In the case of Asia the cities are relatively well known from copious inscriptions of the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods. For Bithynia in the time of Trajan unique literary evidence is available: Pliny's official correspondence with the emperor while governor c. 109–11 is complemented by the political speeches of Dio Chrysostom concerning both the troubled internal affairs of his native Prusa in the years preceding Pliny's appointment, and the rivalries between Bithynian cities over points of honour.

In material terms the most valuable positions a city could hold were those of 'temple warden' (*neokoros*) and assize centre (*dioikesis/conventus*). The former title was officially held by cities which possessed a provincial temple of the imperial cult. In this capacity they hosted games which accompanied the cult and attracted crowds of visitors. Meetings of the *koinon*, the provincial congress responsible for the cult, were also held there. Assize centres were regularly visited by provincial governors to conduct judicial business. Litigants who required a hearing before a Roman tribunal had to travel to such a centre, and were naturally a source of prosperity to the community

concerned. Paradoxically, however, some of the bitterest disputes involved not these positions, but the prestigious, though largely empty titles of *metropolis* and *prote* ('first city'). Dio deals with just such a wrangle between Nicomedeia and Nicaea in his *Oration* 38. In the imperial period *metropolis*, which had originally signified the mother city of a Greek colony, came to be a title for the chief city of a province or region.

A few cities of the Greek east were absorbed by settlements of Roman veterans in the great demobilisations of Augustus' time, and thereby acquired the status of a Roman *colonia*, free from tribute and generally from interference by proconsuls. A number enjoyed the status of 'free city', which covered a range of different relationships with Rome, from nominal independence guaranteed by treaty or decree to more limited local autonomy dependent upon the emperor's goodwill. Finally there were areas where Greek institutions had not yet penetrated, and the people were still organised in tribal communities. However, there are several places marked which owed to imperial policy their development from tribal market centre to hellenised city. Such transformation was usually commemorated—at least temporarily—by the adoption of a dynastic name (like Flaviopolis, Trajanopolis).



Roman Asia Minor

The geographical centre of Asia Minor—in ancient terms Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia and western Cappadocia—consists of a rolling plateau at an average altitude of 1,100 metres, drained by the Sangarius and Halys rivers and by lakes of varying salinity; rainfall is low, and winters severe. This plateau is bounded to the north by the Paphlagonian mountains; their wooded northern slopes drop to a

narrow coastal plain. Southwards the Taurus range begins in Lycia, runs roughly parallel to the coast and finally, east of the Cilician Gates, merges into the mountain mass 300 km wide which separates the Pontic coast from the Cilician and north Syrian plains. Westwards the plateau and the Pisidian mountains are broken by large river valleys, notably those of the Maeander, Hermus and Sangarius: these made Lydia, Mysia and Bithynia the richest parts of Asia Minor.

Serious Roman interest began here with the war against Antiochus III. Victory in 190 BC left Rome as arbiter of the peninsula. The Seleucids were generally confined to Cilicia, while native kings were retained in control of Cappadocia and the northern seaboard. Of Rome's allies, Rhodes was given territory in Caria and Lycia, and the small but well organised kingdom of Pergamum was encouraged to expand inland to fill the vacuum left by Antiochus' withdrawal.

In 133 Attalus III of Pergamum bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, and its richer and more accessible parts became the province of Asia. In 74 a similar bequest by Nicomedes III led to the formation of the province of Bithynia. On the south coast the province of 'Cilicia', which originally consisted mainly of Pamphylia, had been set up to curb pirates. But until Pompey's campaign against them in 67 and his subsequent rearrangement of the east, there was no continuous and effective Roman presence here, so that Cilicia in the strict sense remained nominally Seleucid property. After the defeat of Mithradates of Pontus by Pompey, most of his kingdom was added to Bithynia.

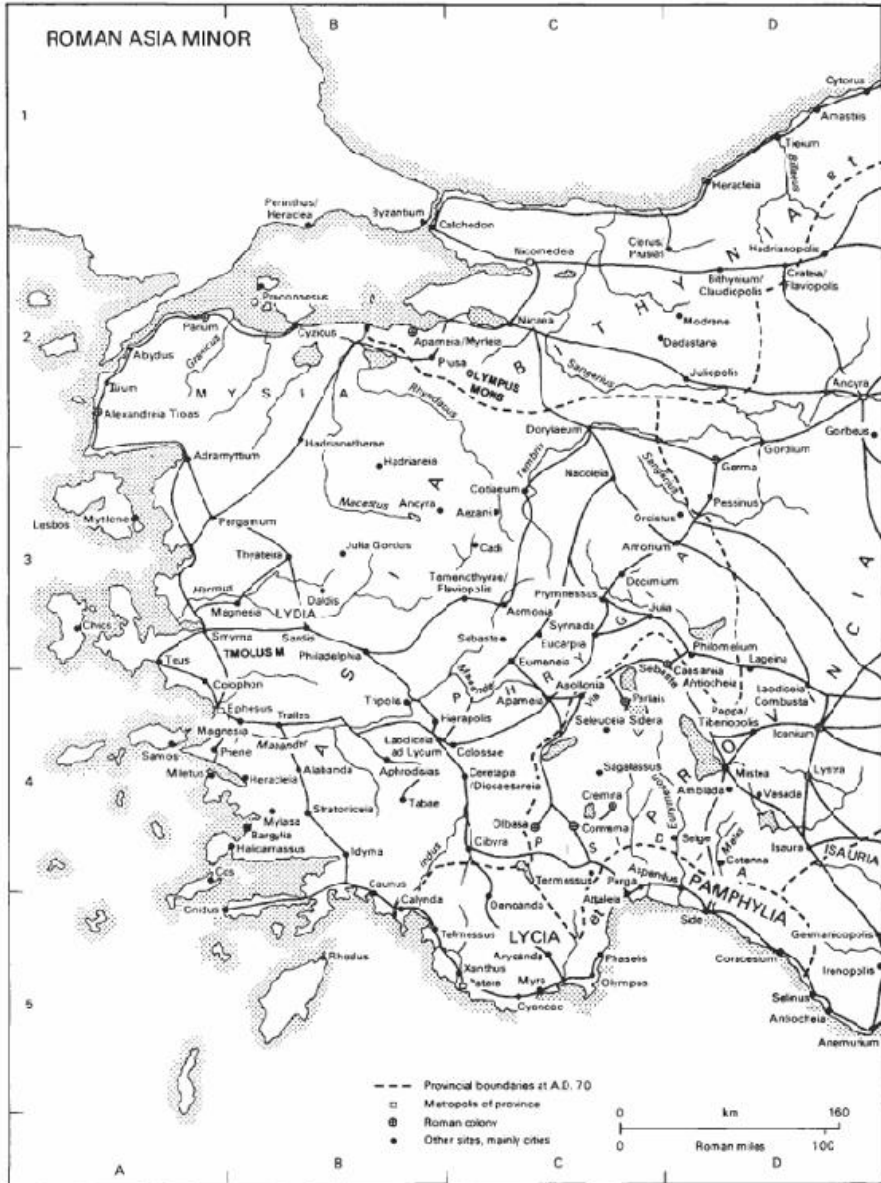
Next, in 25, Amyntas of Galatia bequeathed his kingdom—including much newly captured territory that was ethnically Pisidian, Phrygian, Lycaonian and Isaurian—to form the basis of a new imperial province of Galatia. Cappadocia was taken over early in Tiberius' reign. Initially it was controlled by a procurator, though later it was attached to Galatia, and finally became a separate imperial province under Trajan. Lycia and Pamphylia, after 250 years of experiments with different forms of government, were definitively annexed only under Vespasian. He also reinstated the province of Cilicia, which for more than a century had formed part of Syria. Thereafter, except for minor adjustments, this pattern of provinces remained intact until Diocletian's reorganisation.

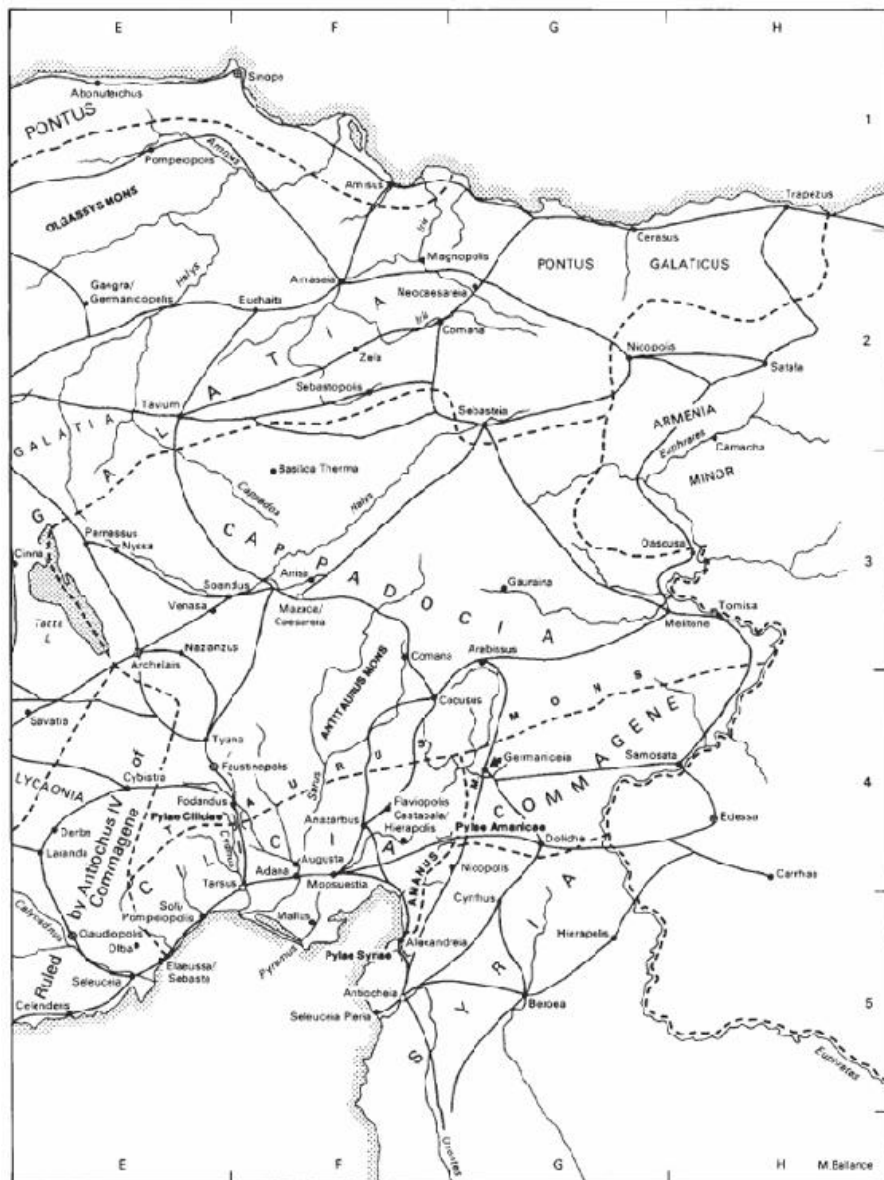
Within the province of Asia certain cities were designated as district (*conventus*) centres where the governor on circuit would hold assizes. No doubt this system applied further east too, but there is little evidence for its organisation. In more developed areas cities on the Greek pattern were usually the main unit of local government, and

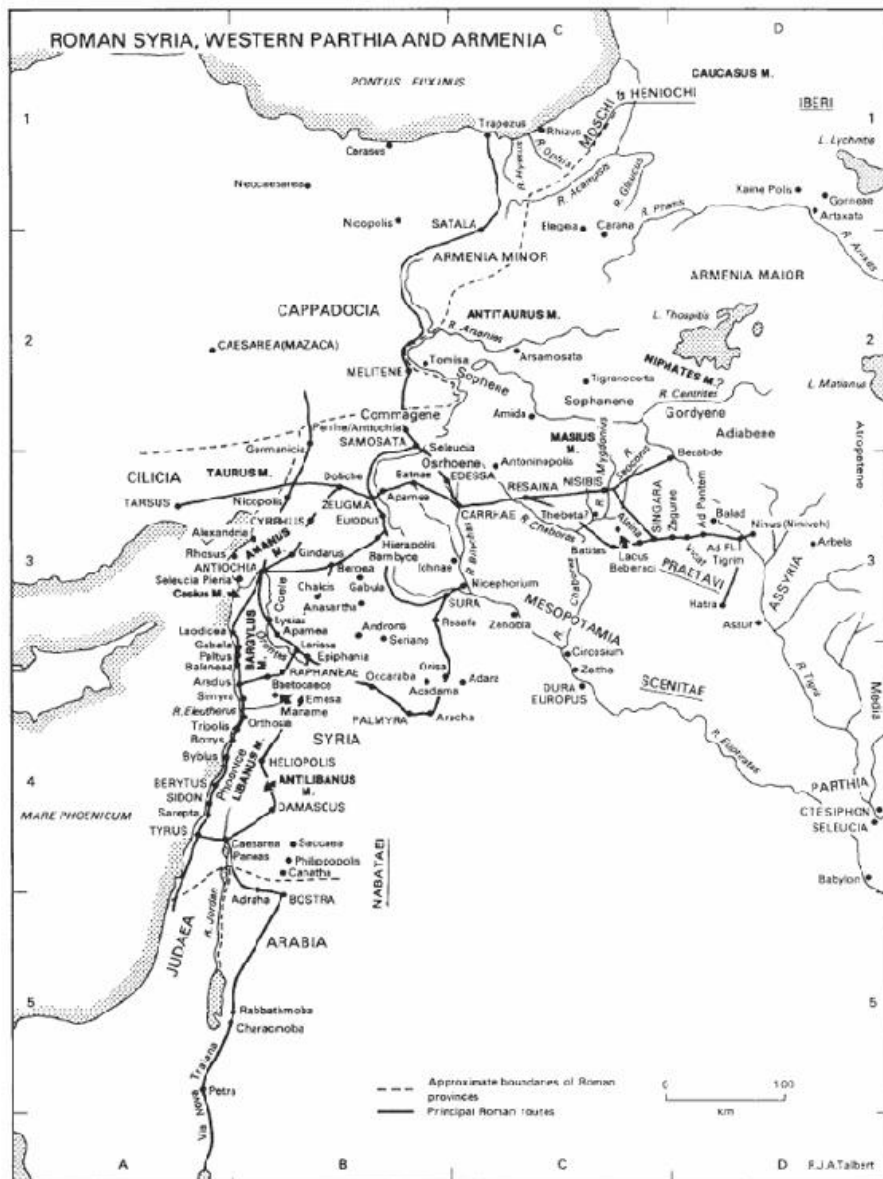
new cities continued to be created into the Byzantine period. Elsewhere the tribe was the unit of government rather than the city; there were also large imperial estates that never acquired city status. Roman colonies were rare, apart from a group founded by Augustus to hem in the turbulent Pisidians.

The Roman road system began as a regularisation of existing routes, though at any rate the Via Sebaste, linking Augustus' Pisidian colonies, as well as stretches near the Euphrates frontier, were built specifically for military purposes. The Peutinger Table and the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries show the network as it existed in the fourth century AD. Milestones are common, even if their value may be reduced by the tendency of engravers to omit distances, and by the old Turkish habit of transporting such stones for reuse as grave markers. Though recent work has brought significant advances in understanding, the road pattern shown remains far from definitive, especially in Cappadocia.

ROMAN ASIA MINOR







Roman Syria, Western Parthia and Armenia

In ancient times Syria was the name given to the fertile strip along the entire eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from the Taurus Mountains to Egypt. It was held by Seleucids prior to annexation for Rome by Pompey in 63 BC. Thereafter its south west region was always separately administered— from AD 70 as the regular province of

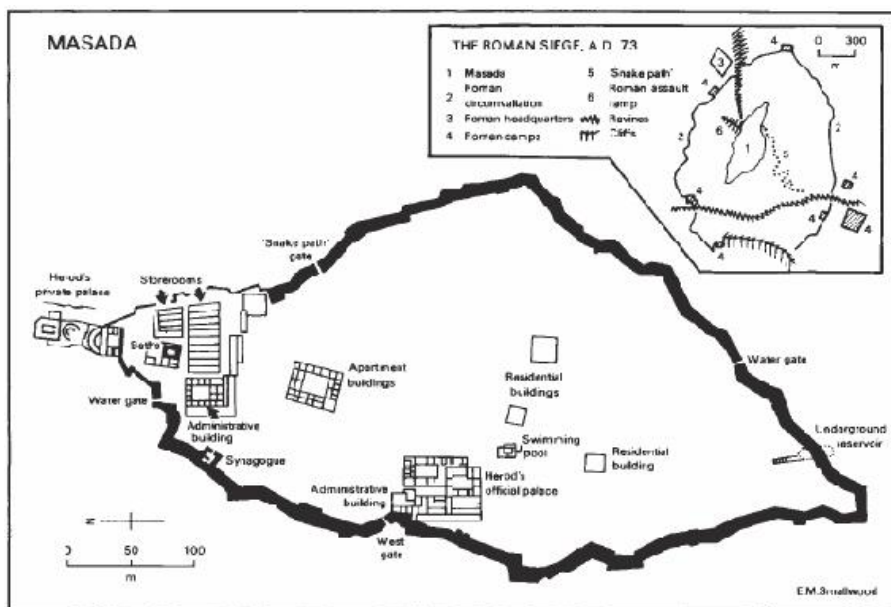
Judaea. The south east region, beyond the R. Jordan, was not directly controlled by Rome until AD 106 when the rule of its Nabataean kings came to an end, and it was then made the province of Arabia, governed from Bostra. In Roman parlance, therefore, the name 'Syria', came to be associated with the more fragmented northern region, to which Commagene was added from AD 72. Behind the narrow coastal plain here lie two parallel chains of mountains, broken at several points, and separated by valleys along which the R.Orontes flows northwards, the R.Jordan southwards. Beyond the mountains there come vast tracts of desert, which give Syria no defined frontier to the east; to the north the R.Euphrates marked the border. The prosperity of the cultivable regions derived from vines, olives, fruit and vegetables; the weaving of linen and wool were important, too, together with dyeing. The province also gained wealth from importing silk and other eastern luxury goods by caravan across the desert. Despite the unusually high duty of 25 per cent imposed on eastern imports by Rome, the trade continued to flourish. It encouraged the growth of communities on the edge of the desert (especially Damascus), and at oases (especially Palmyra), as well as seaports on the Mediterranean coast. Apart from these exceptions, however, Syria was hardly urbanised; its territory remained rural, with the village as the centre of local life. The great majority of the population continued to speak Syriac, and were little influenced by Greco-Roman culture.

As one of Rome's most splendid possessions Syria was governed by a senior consular in command of a substantial garrison, much of it recruited locally. The capital, Antioch, ranked among the greatest cities of the empire. At the end of the second century Septimius Severus divided the province into two—Coele to the north, governed from Antioch; Phoenice to the south, governed from Tyrus. Further division followed in the late third century.

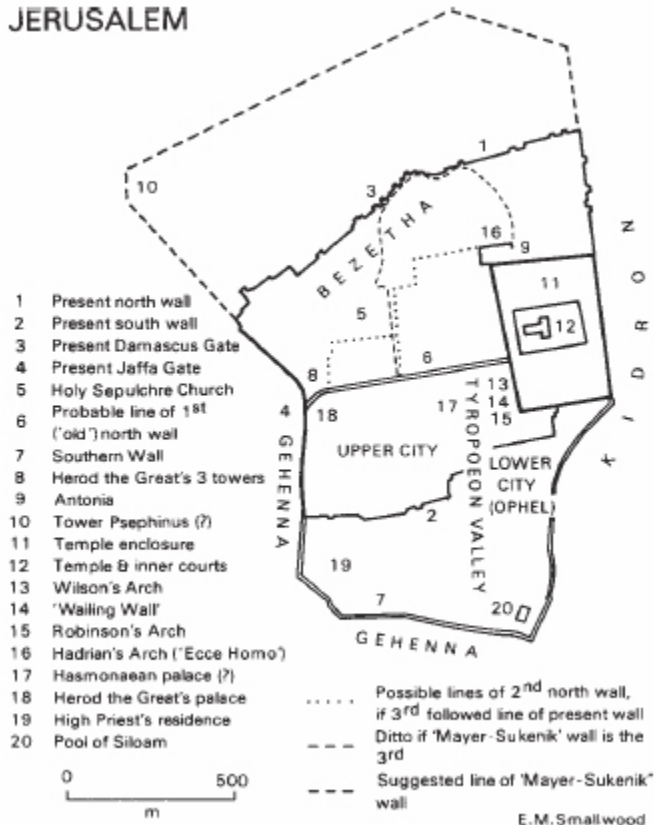
East of Syria lay another part of the Seleucid inheritance, the Parthian empire. The attractive area closest to the Roman province, the north west of the Mesopotamian plain, was ruled by Parthian vassals, the princes of Osrhoene, from their capital at Edessa. The Parthian capital itself, Ctesiphon on the R.Tigris, lay far to the south, and its realm stretched on into the infinite distance, beyond the Caspian Sea. Although Parthian power was potentially a grave threat to the Roman empire, the state was for long in practice so weak and divided that Rome—her resources already strained elsewhere— seldom sought any permanent commitment beyond the R.Euphrates. Only from the late second century was northern Mesopotamia kept under regular occupation. Thereby Rome was at last enabled to station troops within striking distance of Ctesiphon, while at the same time acquiring a base

for domination of Armenia.

The strategic situation of this mountainous, undeveloped land had always made the allegiance of its rulers a matter of concern to both Parthia (which enjoyed close ties of race and culture with its people) and Rome. But despite certain more or less successful forays, Rome failed to hold any of the country until Diocletian's time (when an area on the upper Tigris was gained), and would usually exert influence there only by diplomacy. In any event, before the mid-third century, with the displacement of her Arsacid kings by Sassanids, Parthia's conflict with Rome had entered a new phase. She became unprecedentedly aggressive. Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria were all overrun, and the emperor Valerian captured by Sapor I in 260. Rome's position was restored only with great difficulty.



JERUSALEM



Jerusalem

Jerusalem had the protection of the deep, steep-sided valleys of Kidron and Gehenna to the east, south and west: these acted as vast natural fosses in front of the city walls and of the east wall of the Temple enclosure, which was itself part of the fortifications. On the north there was only manmade protection. The first north wall was Hasmonaean. The second was possibly built in the latter part of the first century BC by Herod the Great, who strengthened the north west angle with three massive towers. The line of this wall is conjectural, but it is known to have run from near Herod's towers to Antonia, his new fortress built for the protection of the Temple on more or less the same site as two earlier ones. These two walls were not demolished when Agrippa I planned a new north wall (not actually completed until early in the war of AD 66–70) to enclose the growing suburb of Bezetha. Some scholars hold that this new wall followed roughly the line of the present sixteenth-century wall, but evidence is accumulating for the more northerly line of the wall, named 'Mayer-

Sukenik' after the archaeologists who found the first traces of it.

Robinson's Arch at the southern end of the western wall of the Temple enclosure supported a broad stairway leading down to the Tyropoeon or Cheesemakers' Valley. Wilson's Arch is the first arch of a viaduct leading across the valley to the Upper City. Josephus describes the city, its fortifications, and the Temple in his *Jewish War* 5.136–247.

Masada

Masada is a rock plateau rising 366 metres from the narrow plain between the Dead Sea and the Judaeian mountains, with access only by the dangerous 'Snake Path'. Herod the Great strengthened the earlier Hasmonaean fortress by building a casemate wall round the cliff edge except at the northern tip, where the precipices are almost vertical. There, on three descending rock terraces, he had a small private palace. Large, well-stocked storerooms and numerous reservoirs, mostly in the cliffs, fed by an aqueduct from a wadi on the west and by occasional rain, enabled the fortress to stand a long siege. During the war of AD 66–70 the Sicarii took possession of Masada, converting the casemates into dwellings. In 73 the Romans invested the fortress with a circumvallation (except where the terrain made penetration impossible) and eight camps. They then used a projecting rock bastion on the west as an assault ramp, raising it with stone and timber to the level of the wall, which they breached with battering rams. From 73 the Romans maintained a permanent garrison in the besiegers' headquarters camp. A description of Masada and an account of the siege are given by Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.275–406.

Palestine

When the Jews under the Hasmonaean dynasty achieved political independence from Seleucid Syria in the mid-second century **BC**, their territory consisted of Judaea only, cut off from the sea by the line of Greco-Syrian (formerly Phoenician) cities along the coast. A period of rapid territorial expansion followed. By the death of Jannaeus in 76 BC Jewish dominions comprised Galilee (which had a considerable Jewish population before annexation), Samaritis (where a schismatic form of Judaism was practised), Idumaea (which was forced to accept

Judaism), Peraea, the coastal cities, and some other Greco-Syrian cities in northern Transjordan. The boundaries between these and the other various districts comprising Palestine are not known for certain, and consequently are left unmarked on the map.

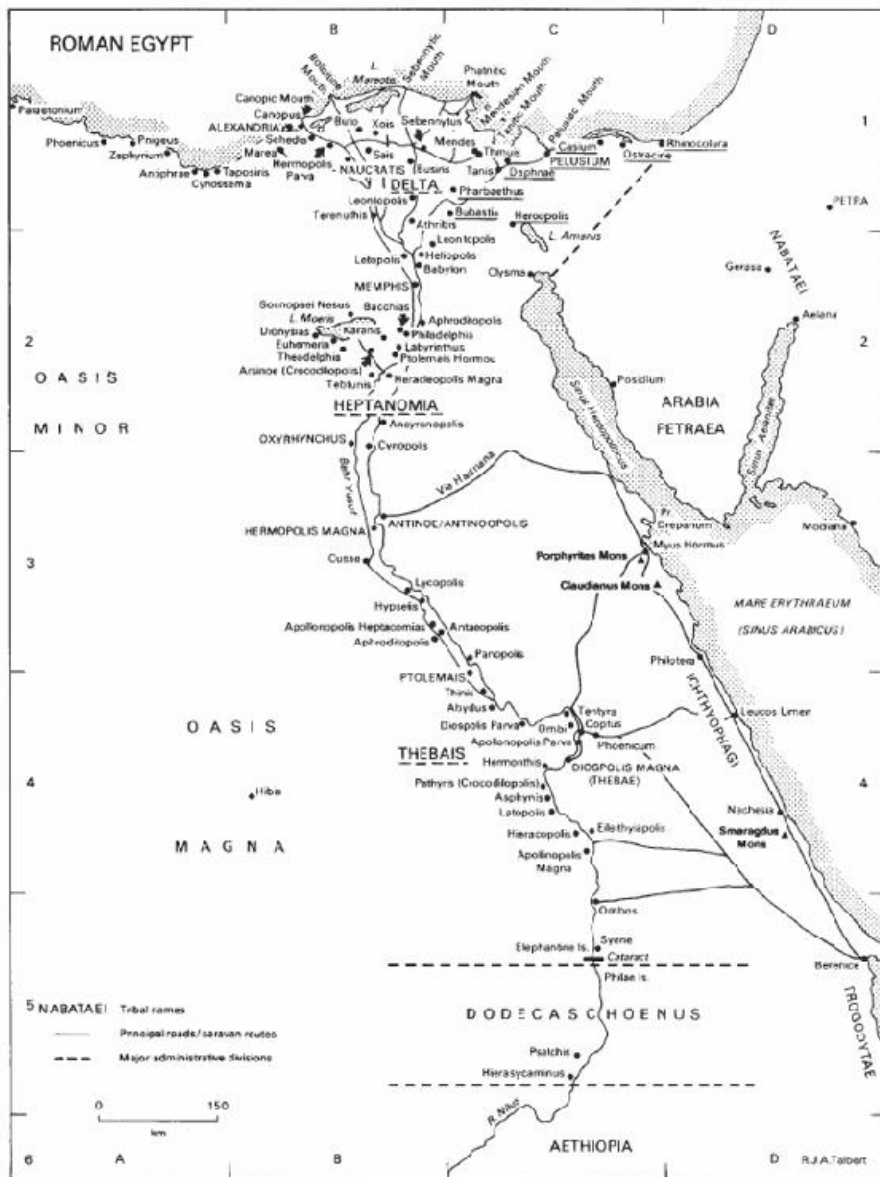
In 63 when Pompey turned Palestine under its last Hasmonaean king into a client kingdom, the Jews' cities in northern Transjordan were removed from their control and linked with others as the semi-autonomous Decapolis. The Idumaeen Herod the Great, who was put on the throne by Rome in 40 BC, had Ulatha, Paneas and extensive territory to the north east added to his kingdom in the course of his reign. When he died in 4 BC, his kingdom was divided between three of his sons: Philip ruled the north eastern territories till his death in AD 34; Antipas ruled Galilee, Samaritis and Peraea until 40; Judaea and Idumaea were ruled by Archelaus until 6, when his oppression provoked his subjects to ask for annexation by Rome. In consequence the province of Judaea was established.

Next, in 37 Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod the Great, was appointed king of Philip's former territory, while in 40 Antipas was deposed and his realm, too, was put under Agrippa. Then in 41 the Roman province of Judaea was added to Agrippa's kingdom. Finally on his death in 44 Roman Judaea was reconstituted and enlarged to include all the former territories of both Agrippa and Antipas. This arrangement remained permanent. Neither the first Jewish revolt in 66–70, nor the second in 132–5, resulted in territorial alterations to the province. However in 135 it was renamed Syria Palaestina, and Jerusalem was refounded as the Greek city of Aelia Capitolina, from which Jews were excluded. Praetorian legates superseded equestrian procurators as governors from 70.

PALESTINE

TYRE	Cty
11	Change of name made during the Roman period
11	Cty of the Decapolis
Cypros	Harod's fortresses





Roman Egypt

Egypt was annexed by Octavian in 30 BC and as a Roman province was closely controlled by the emperor through equestrian officials; senators were never appointed to posts there. The frame-work of the existing Ptolemaic organisation was retained, thus making for a tighter degree of supervision than Rome exercised over any other province. Uniquely detailed insight into the life of Roman Egypt is

afforded by papyrus records preserved in the dry climate. Two legions (reduced to one from the early second century) and a fleet were based at Alexandria, though soldiers from the former were deployed throughout the country, and ships from the latter policed the R.Nile. For administrative and fiscal purposes the province was divided into three large districts—Delta, Heptanomia, and Thebaid; to the last of these was also joined the frontier zone of the Dodekaschoenus beyond the natural barrier of the First Cataract. Each district was headed by an *epistrategus*, and subdivided into a dozen or more *nomes*, the responsibility of a *strategus* and his assistant the Royal Scribe. The principal community of each nome ranked as a *metropolis*, enjoying some privileges and limited civic services provided by annually elected magistrates from the superior ‘gymnasium’ class, but otherwise controlled by the *strategus*; town councils were not instituted until the early third century. The other communities of each nome, the villages, were wholly under the supervision of the *strategus*. The limited number of Greek cities lay outside the nome structure and in every respect formed the most privileged communities of the province—the capital Alexandria, with its mixed Greek and Jewish population and the only good harbour on the coast of the Delta, ranking as the most privileged of all; Naucratis; Ptolemais; and the Hadrianic foundation of Antinoe/Antinoopolis.

Like the lands adjoining it, Egypt was almost all desert. The only fertile areas were the marshy lands of the Delta (where papyrus was principally grown), the country around Lake Moeris (the modern Fayum), and a narrow strip either side of the Nile. In consequence the river was the focus of the whole province and its annual inundation vital to general prosperity: the level was predicted at Elephantine Island from a ‘Nilometer’, or gauge, which survives. The flooding—at its greatest extent during October—both refertilised the land and watered crops. Regular maintenance of dykes, embankments and canals was so vital to the country’s economy that five days’ labour at this work was required annually from every native male.

Rome valued and exploited Egypt above all for its agricultural produce—chiefly cereals in sufficient quantities to fill whole convoys of vessels, but in addition vegetables, olives, vines and flax. Animals were raised, and there was also some quarrying and mining (notably for gold in the south east of the province). Highly lucrative, too, was the province’s trade with Arabia and India through its Red Sea ports. Luxury goods landed there (and attracting a special duty of 25 per cent of their value) were transported by caravan to the Nile, and then shipped to Alexandria for re-export elsewhere in the empire. The manufacture of perfumes, ointments and medicines was well

developed in consequence. In the long term, however, Roman rule of Egypt during the Principate was damaging both to the condition of the country and to the welfare of its people. The land was drained of resources. The vast majority of its inhabitants, the native Egyptians, was kept firmly at the bottom of a rigid class system, exploited, over-taxed and in complete subjection.

The Roman Empire in AD 211

The attempts made towards further extension of the empire during the century-and-a-half between 60 and 211 were just as impressive as those of the Julio-Claudian period. But by no means all the territory gained could be held. Following the deaths of the client kings of Pontus (64) and Commagene (72), the Flavian emperors took the opportunity to extend and consolidate the eastern provinces; the legions on this frontier were also increased in number and redeployed. In Germany the former two military areas were formally established as Upper and Lower provinces, and the 'Agri Decumates', territory forming a dangerous re-entrant angle between the Rhine and Danube, was annexed. The frontier line was thus shortened considerably, and the garrison reduced. In Britain the conquest of England and Wales was completed, and during the 80s forces under Agricola even penetrated deep into Scotland; but this initiative was not followed up. At the same time the Danube frontier came under intense pressure from tribes north of the river. For security the single provinces of Pannonia and Moesia were each divided, and an earth wall raised across the Dobrudja plain. The situation was stabilised only after two campaigns by Trajan (101–2 and 105–6), which resulted in the annexation of Dacia as a protection for the lower Danube area. In the east the improved Flavian frontier was rounded off with the annexation of Nabatea as the new province of Arabia in 105–6. About five years later Trajan made Parthian interference in Armenia his pretext for attempting to gain full control of the country, which Nero's legate, Corbulo, had over-run previously about 60 (with the purpose of handing it over to a client king). In 113/14 Trajan enjoyed similar success, but was then rashly encouraged to proceed further, sweeping as far south as the Persian Gulf, which he reached by the end of 115. Yet these new territories were too vast to hold: rebellion here, and unrest elsewhere in the empire, prompted their immediate abandonment by Hadrian on his accession in 117. In deliberate contrast to Trajan he pursued a strict policy of everywhere

consolidating the empire and its frontiers, even to the extent of building a massive 118 km wall from Tyne to Solway to mark the northern limit of Britannia. His successor, Antoninus Pius, permitted a modest advance to the shorter Forth-Clyde line, where a turf wall was built and held for a brief period. Elsewhere general peace and stability continued into the 160s. They were then shattered first in the east, where Parthia once again seized Armenia. It was recovered only after a long struggle, and for its protection part of Upper Mesopotamia was now kept under Roman control. Next, M.Aurelius' struggle to repulse German tribes which swept across the upper and lower Danube deep into the empire, led him from 170 to attempt the subjugation of central and south eastern Europe north of the river, the territory of the Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges. His efforts might have been successful if a bid for the Principate by Avidius Cassius in 175 had not forced him to rush to the east. He returned to the Danube frontier in 177 to spend the last three years of his reign fighting the tribes north of the river, and again came close to subjugating them. But his son and successor, Commodus, preferred to abandon the campaign and make peace.

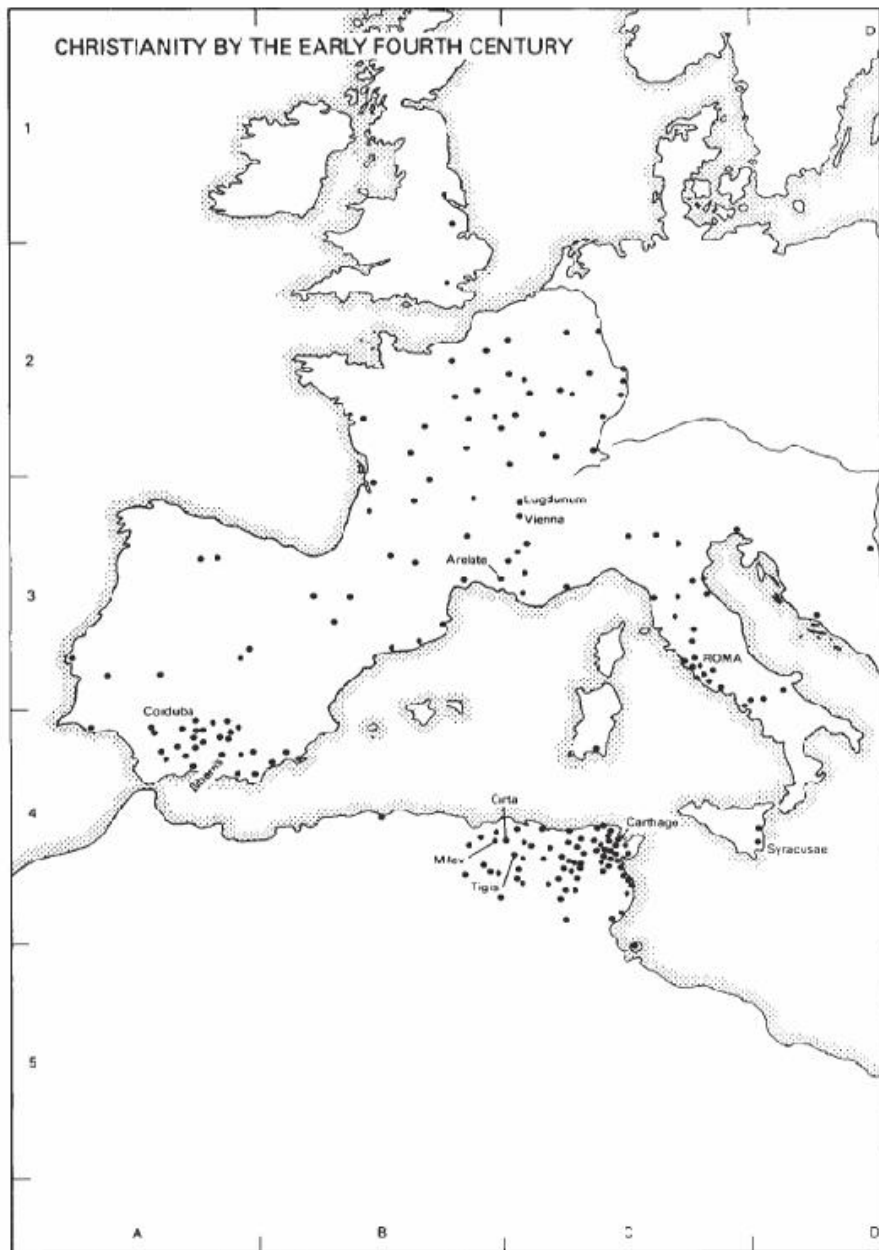
Septimius Severus, who emerged as victor in the civil wars of the 190s, attacked Parthia in retaliation for its support of his first rival, Pescennius Niger, and extended Roman control of Mesopotamia, which he made into a new province. In north Africa the security of the desert frontier was improved. Efforts to add Scotland to the Roman province of Britain were unsuccessful, however, and were not continued after his death at Eboracum (York) in 211. Since the substantial concentrations of legions in Syria and Britain had formed the support of his two main rivals, Severus split each of these provinces into separate commands, so that in future no governor should have control of more than a pair of legions. By raising three new ones he brought the total number of legions above thirty for the first time since the beginning of the Principate. He also broke with precedent by stationing one in Italy, at Albanum just south east of Rome, for deployment as a reserve or 'field army', with no responsibility for any particular area.

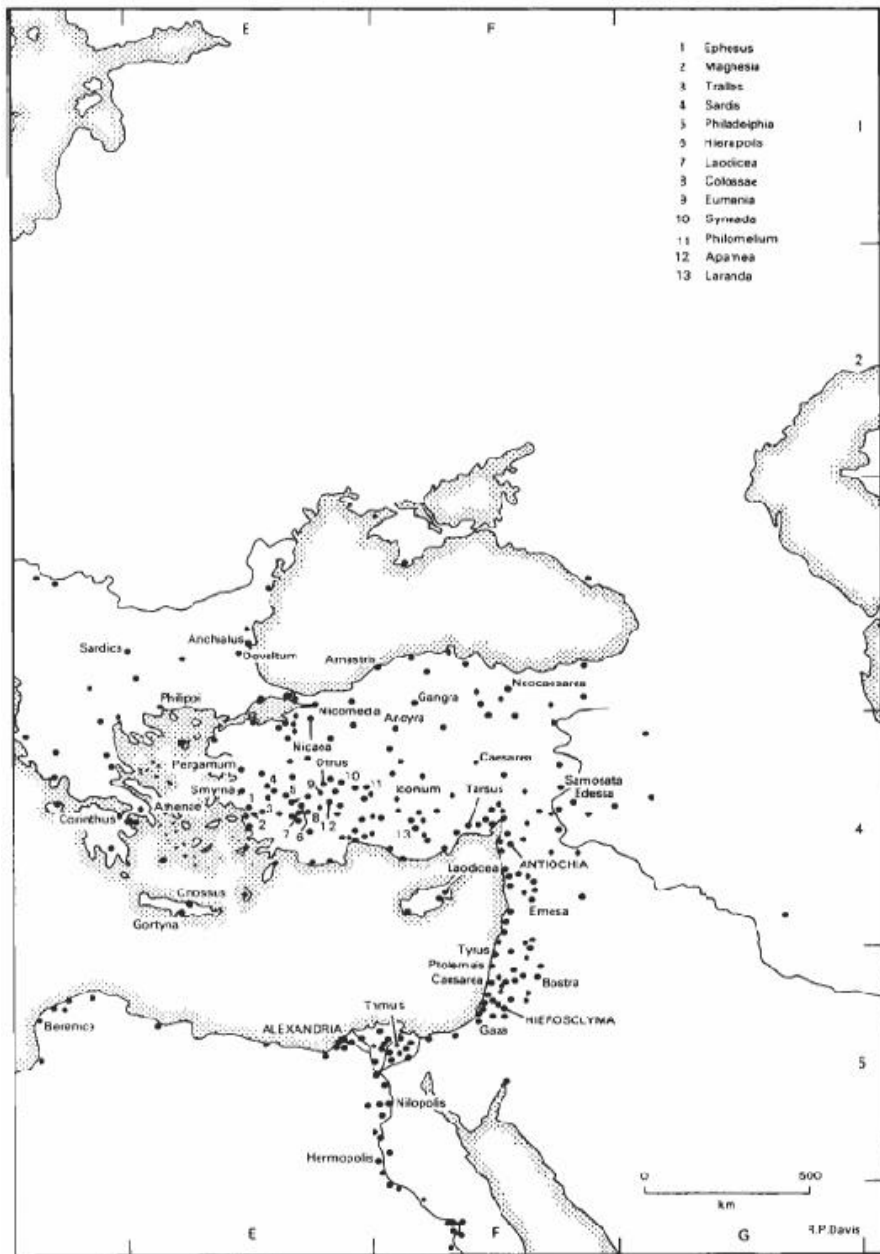
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN A.D. 211





CHRISTIANITY BY THE EARLY FOURTH CENTURY





Christianity by the Early Fourth Century

As with other forms of religion, it is impossible to map the Christian beliefs of individuals: the best which may be done is to chart the spread of organised churches, that is to say, of groups of Christians

sufficiently numerous and stable to have regular meeting places for worship. In practice this means plotting on a map those places which are known, or may on reasonable evidence be assumed, to have had a bishop by the period in question. In this instance the latter may be defined as the time of the emergence of Christianity to full toleration and active imperial support during the reign of Constantine: he controlled Gaul and Britain from 306, Italy and Africa from 312, and the whole empire from 324 until his death in 337. At this stage Christians were possibly somewhere around 10 per cent of the population.

This procedure has its drawbacks. First, there is little doubt that individual Christians could be found in almost every town in the empire at a fairly early date: indeed, writing in about 200, Tertullian was able to claim that Christians were to be found even in parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans. But any attempt to map the presence of individuals from scanty literary or archaeological evidence would be so random as to prove meaningless. Not even the record of a martyrdom at a given city is necessarily proof of an organised Christian community there.

Second, the evidence for the existence of bishoprics is itself far from complete. Most useful here are the lists of bishops who attended, or accepted the decisions of, church councils—held at Carthage in 256, Elvira (Iliberris) about 306, Rome in 313, Arles (Arelate) in 314, Nicaea in 325 and Sardica in 343—though with all these lists it should be noted that difficulties of topographical identification often arise. The Council of Nicaea seems to have been attended by the majority of eastern bishops, so that our picture of bishoprics for the eastern provinces may be taken as relatively complete. But some of the other councils were more localised: thus it is from the signatures of the councils of Carthage and Elvira that the clusters of bishoprics in Africa and southern Spain emerge. Recent studies of Sardica mean that information on Gaul is relatively good; yet evidence for the Danubian provinces remains thin. It is certain, too, that there were many more bishoprics in Italy than can be located: 60 Italian bishops apparently attended a council held at Rome in 251, though no list survives. Records of councils may be supplemented to some degree from literary sources, in particular Eusebius' *History of the Church*. As far as possible all the place names given by Eusebius have been marked on the map, along with other cities where councils were held, or which assume significance in early Christian history for different reasons.

Important facts emerge from the picture which results. Little progress had been made in evangelising the non-Roman world. In the early

fourth century Christianity was still more widespread in the eastern provinces than in those of the west (apart from Africa). And it was predominantly an urban religion: hence the new meaning which the word *paganus*, a villager, was to acquire. Bishoprics were urban; their territory generally corresponded to the civil territory of the city. A hundred years later virtually all the cities of the empire had gained bishoprics, but the process was far from complete at the date of this map.

Some forms of higher jurisdiction had already begun to develop by the fourth century: the bishop of a provincial capital was coming to outrank his fellow provincial bishops, and to be known as the metropolitan (or ‘archbishop’) of his province. Equally, the Council of Nicaea recognised that the bishops of Rome and Alexandria had statuses not confined to the current civil provinces where their cities lay.

The Dioceses and Provinces of the Roman Empire in AD 314

By the death of Septimius Severus in 211 there were about 46 provinces (reckoning Italy as one). Subdivision continued through the third century. Thus Crete seems to have been hived off from Cyrene before the middle of the century, while a province of Phrygia et Caria was carved out of Asia in the 250s; in Gaul the province of *Novem Populi* may date from the same period. With the loss of the trans-Danubian territories, Aurelian (270–5) gave their name of Dacia to a new province created out of parts of Moesia Inferior and Superior and Thrace. He also began the reorganisation of Italy, while in his reign or shortly afterwards Bithynia was divided from Pontus. Other divisions, too, may have been made before 284.

This process was significantly encouraged by Diocletian (284–305) as part of his wide-ranging reforms: civil administration could thus be tightened up. Following some further divisions a peak was reached around 314 with approximately 101 provinces—including the divisions of Italy, whose special status had been ended by Diocletian. A record of the provinces at that date survives in a somewhat corrupt form in a manuscript preserved at Verona. The map is based on this ‘Verona List’, with the minimum necessary corrections. It should be appreciated that precise provincial boundaries are often uncertain

(particularly so in Britain), and that the identification of provincial capitals is not equally secure in every case.

To provide greater supervision over the increased number of governors, Diocletian had further grouped the provinces into 12 'dioceses'. In the 320s Constantine divided the diocese of Moesia into two, styled Thracia and Macedonia, the latter consisting of the provinces from Epirus Nova and Macedonia southward. But there is evidence that Constantine considered the process of provincial division to have gone too far. Before the end of 314 the two Numidian provinces (created in 305) had been reunited, and it seems that subsequently some of the separate provinces in Dacia, Macedonia and Thracia (perhaps also in Pannonia, Hispaniae, Britanniae and other dioceses) were suppressed. However, most of the suppressed provinces were reinstated later in the century, not always with the same names.

Under Diocletian's arrangements, each province was governed by an equestrian *praeses*, although the proconsulships of Africa and Asia were still senatorial posts, and the governors of the Italian districts, Sicilia, and Achaia, called *correctores*, could also be senators.

Each diocese was ruled by an equestrian *vicarius* (deputy of the equestrian praetorian prefects), except that the Italian diocese from the Apennines southward, along with the islands, was effectively not controlled by the *vicarius* of Italia, but by a *vicarius* at Rome. In addition to its vicar, each diocese had one or more *rationales* and *magistri* responsible for those aspects of financial affairs outside the control of the praetorian prefects and their vicars.

Senators now played little part in administration. From the time of Gallienus (254–68) they were finally excluded from the command of legions, and were probably no longer appointed as governors of garrisoned provinces, where the armies were placed under *duces*. Perhaps because he found that provinces were now inconveniently small for governors to deploy their forces adequately, Diocletian arranged for the *duces* to control rather larger areas. In effect he thus began the total divorce of civil and military commands; however, the process remained incomplete at his abdication, with some provincial governors (though never senators) still retaining military command. Yet Constantine did complete the change. Under him, not merely provincial *praesides* and diocesan *vicarii*, but even the praetorian prefects, lost all direct military responsibilities. He also laid much stress on the development of the hitherto small 'field armies'—the *comitatenses*, as opposed to the *limitanei* or frontier forces—placing these under the control of *magistri equitum* and *peditum*. Consequently

THE DIOCESES AND PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN A.D. 314

1

2

3

4

5

A

B

C

D



MOESIA

RAETIA

Provincia

Provincial capital or main centre

Lepcis

- 1 NOVEN POPULI
- 2 ACUITANICA I
- 3 NARBONENSIS I
- 4 VIENNENSIS
- 5 NARBONENSIS II
- 6 ALPES MARITIMAE
- 7 LUCCOGENSIS I
- 8 SEQUANIA

- 9 ALPES GRAIAE ET POENINAE
- 10 MAXIMA CAESARIENSIS
- 11 FLAVIA CAESARIENSIS
- 12 BRITANNIA I
- 13 ALPES COTTIAE
- 14 AEMILIA ET LIGURIA
- 15 FLAMINIA ET PICENUM
- 16 APULIA ET CALABRIA
- 17 NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM
- 18 PANNONIA SUPERIOR
- 19 SAVENSIS
- 20 VALERA
- 21 PANNONIA INFERIOR
- 22 MOESIA SUPERIOR
- MARGENSIS

- 23 FRAEVALTANA
- 24 DARDANIA
- 25 DACIA MEDITERRANEA
- 26 DACIA RIPENSIS
- 27 EPIRUS NOVA
- 28 EPIRUS VETUS
- 29 RHODOPE
- 30 THRACIA
- 31 EUROPA
- 32 HELLESPOINTUS
- 33 LYDIA
- 34 CARIA
- 35 PHRYGIA I
- 36 PHRYGIA II
- 37 PHOENICE



R.P. Davis

REIGNS OF ROMAN EMPERORS IN BRIEF

Augustus	} Julio-Claudians	died AD 14
Tiberius		14-37
Gaius (Caligula)		37-41
Claudius		41-54
Nero		54-68
Galba		68-9
Otho		69
Vitellius		69
Vespasian	} Flavians	69-79
Titus		79-81
Domitian		81-96
Nerva		96-8
Trajan		98-117
Hadrian		117-38
Antoninus	} Antonines	138-61
Marcus Aurelius		161-80
Lucius Verus		161-9
Commodus		177-92
Pertinax		193
Didius Julianus		193
Septimius Severus	} Severans	193-211
Caracalla		198-217
Macrinus		217-18
Elagabalus		218-22
Severus Alexander		222-35
Maximinus		235-8
Gordian I and II		238
Balbinus and Pupienus		238
Gordian III		238-44
Philip		244-9
Decius		249-51
Gallus		251-3
Valerian		253-60
Gallienus		254-68
Claudius Gothicus		268-70
Aurelian		270-5
Tacitus		275-6
Probus		276-82
Carus, Carinus, Numerian		282-5
Diocletian		284-305
Maximian		286-305
Constantius		305-6
Galerius		305-11
Constantine		307-37

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*

BAR *British Archaeological Reports* (International Series)

BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

BSA *British School at Athens*

CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*, edns. 1 and 2

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CQ *Classical Quarterly*

CRAI *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*

ILS *Inscriptions Latinae Selectae*

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*

LCM *Liverpool Classical Monthly*

MEFR *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*

OCD² *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. 2

PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*

PW A.Pauly, G.Wissowa, W.Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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